

T H E I N C R E A S E O F

Popery in England,

Since the Reformation made by King *Henry VIII.*

S H E W I N G

The great encouragement that Priests, Jesuits, and other Promoters of that bloody Religion have had from *Persons of Power and Authority*. The Discouragements and notorious Hardships, even to Silencing, and Banishment from Cities and Corporations, that have been the portion of many able and faithful *Protestant Ministers*, that have eminently opposed it. With an Essay towards what may possibly befall the Churches of Christ from the Hellish Contrivances and Damnable Plots of *Romish Emissaries*.

With a faithful Extract out of the most Authentick Records of the most memorable things referring to the Reformation, *viz.* King *Henry VIII.* his Reasons given in his Proclamation for taking away the Popes Usurped Power. His Protestation against the Pope. His Injunctions to his Clergy. Bishop *Stephen Gardener's* Oath or Protestation, and his Reasons against the Popes Supremacy in *England*. And the publick Agreement of the whole Clergy of *England*, as confirmed and ratified in the Book called *The Bishops Book*, published in the Year 1534.

*Intended to be published in the Year 1667, but seized
at the Press by R.L.S. and others.*

*By the late Reverend William Dell, sometime Rector of
Yelden in Bedfordshire.*

L O N D O N, *By* *An*
Printed for Richard Janeway, 1681.

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THE

PREFACE.

FOrasmuch as the great and sudden growth of *Popery* in these three Nations, especially in *England*, (which hath now for a long time, through the Merciful Goodness of God, flourished and been happy in the True Reformed *Protestant* Religion) is now sufficiently manifest to all who have not either blinded their own Eyes, or been blinded by Satan. And forasmuch as the means whereby this great Misery and *Mystery of Iniquity* hath been brought thus far, to this dreadful and unhappy success, are also as fully manifest, to wit:

First, The great Countenance and Incouragement that this Heretical and Bloudy Religion hath had from Persons of Power and Authority, together with all the detestable Professors and Promoters thereof, *Papists*, *Priests* and *Jesuites*, who have their daily Councils and Cabals, in the Highest Places, to promote this great Design of the Devil, and of his First-Born on Earth the *Pope*, even to set up the old *Damnablen Superstition and Doctrine of that Man of Sin*, whom the *Weekly Pamphleteer* terms (very devoutly) *His Holiness*, and yet is no other indeed and truth, than *His Wickedness*; the Old Enemy of Christ and his true Christians and Followers, the *Son of Perdition*; the Angel of the *Bottomless Pit*; the Destroyer and Murderer of Souls and Bodies; the impudent *Agent of Hell upon Earth*; the Devils chief Servant and Factor for his Kingdom of Darkness; the Monster of Monsters, who hath abused, abased and vassalized all Christian *Princes*, made himself superiour to them, yea their very *Lord and Master* even in their own *Dominions*; who hath inforced all their People, not only by his frivolous Excommunications, but also by Fire and Faggot, by Imprisonments, Tortures and all manner of exquisite Cruelties: (which are the only Weapons of his Warfare) to bow down to this *Beast*, and to own him as God, sitting in the *Temple of God*, nor only directly against God, but most Proudly and Insolently above him: Who hath pill'd and polled them of all their Money and Riches (which is the only Fish this great Fisher of *Rome* fishes for) who hath disturbed, interdicted, disordered, wasted and overturned whole Empires, Kingdoms and Nations, at his Wicked Pleasure, and hath been no other through all Ages than Satans eminent Vicegerent upon Earth. This, this prodigious and unparalleld Wretch, must now in the midst of three *Protestant* Nations, be publickly stiled

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His Holiness forsooth ! who only is holy as Satan is holy ; for it may truly be said of him, above any other, *He is of his Father the Devil, and of his works he doth.* I say the countenancing of this Damnable Religion, and of this abominable Sect, and of the chief Head of it, the Pope, is one great cause of the new Increase of this Catholique Heresie amongst us.

Secondly, Another cause is, *The open and notorious discountenancing, discouraging, silencing, displacing and banishing from the Chief Cities, and Towns in England, all the able, faithful, and godly Ministers of Jesus Christ.* Who being the diligent, painful and sincere Teachers of his true Doctrine, set forth in his Gospel for the salvation of Souls, and for the reducing the *lost Sheep to the fold of the true Shepherd*, were the greatest and strongest Bulwark against Popery in the Nation. For *His Wickedness*, i.e. the Pope and his Wicked Followers, knew well enough that Popery could never take root again and prosper in these Nations, if these Mens Mouths were open. They knew well enough that their dark Doctrine and Kingdom could never prevail, where the clear light of the Gospel shines. And therefore they used their chief Artifices and Satanical Subtilties, to seduce the Secular Authority to run on their Errand, and to do their Drudgery ; even to Suppress, Imprison and Banish *These*, upon slight and forged Pretences, and in their stead to foist in a number of ignorant, unlearned, loose, worldly, profane and debauched Priests, in every City, Town and Parish ; Men generally, who neither understand the Law nor the Gospel, neither know God nor Themselves, nor are endued with any sound and serious knowledge of any thing ; that so these keeping away the Light of the Knowledge of the Truth from the people, they (poor Souls) *might walk in darkness, and not know whither they go*, though they should be led into Popery again, which is the Open, Broad Way to Hell.

Thirdly, Another Cause is, *The letting loose the reins to all manner of Ungodliness and Unrighteousness whatsoever*, that Men, not only without controul, but with countenance, may be as wicked as they can be in the World ; may Whore, commit Adultery, Revel, Drink, Swear, Blaspheme, Reproach the Holy Word of God, Vilifie his Ministers, Abuse and Persecute his People, in the greatest freedom the Devil can give ; whereby Hell is let loose upon Earth, and the Smoak of the Bottomless Pit, that is, Sin and Wickedness of all Sorts and Sizes, hath filled and darkened the Nation ; and Men are gone to the highest extent of Wickedness that can be practised on Earth ; that if they would be worse, they must go to Hell in Hell. And that which hath had a Stretched-out Arm to bring about this Kingdom of the Devil amongst Men, is, the frequent acting and frequenting of Stage-Plays, wherein the most Holy and Dreadful Name of God is prostituted to the Abuse and Contempt of every base Villain ; where the Preaching of the Word and Prayer, the High-
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est and most Sacred Ordinances of God, are scorned and jeered in the presence of great Persons, where all Vice, and Wickedness, and Filthiness are made *familiar and pleasant* to the People. These are the *Nurseries* of Hell, and the *Seed-plots* of Damnation, where-by most of our greatest Persons, and of the Gentry are *corrupted*, and rendered wholly *useless* for any worthy or noble employment in the *Commonwealth*: they being through their influence become *brutish*, and without understanding, worse than the *Beasts* that perish, and viler than the *Earth*. For the *Pope* knows, that as Christ gathers his *Kingdom* here in the world, of the *Elect* and Faithful; so his *wickedness* must gather his *Kingdom* out of them that perish, who have made shipwreck of Faith and good Conscience, and are thoroughly practised to commit all iniquity with greediness. And now when Men are brought to this sad pass, that they are of no Religion at all, but are very Atheists, so that they can mock at the Name of God, and at his Holy Word, and most Blessed Spirit, then are they become fit *Subjects* to receive Antichrists Religion, which can please them with Organs and Anthems, and with Vain-Shews, Ceremonies and May-Games, and thereby can stifle their unquiet Consciences: and he by his false *Pardons* and *Indulgences*, can yet drive them more headlong into Sin; bearing them in hand in the mean time, that through his favour, (which also is to be procured by Money) though they commit all these abominations, they are notwithstanding in a fair way to Heaven.

By which *Catholique Cheat* of his, he destroys innumerable Souls of those whom God in his just Judgment, *because they received not the Truth of the Gospel in the love of it, hath given up to his strong delusions, to believe his Lies*.

By these *Three Means*, besides others, things are brought to that pass, that *Poperie* is become the onely safe and thriving way; and thousands of People whose Names are not Written in the Book of Life, seeing safety, favour and preferments attend it, run headlong to it, and greedily take Antichrists Mark in their Forehead and in their right hand, for the sake of present security and profit, not considering their latter end. Yea, they are become so thorough and hearty in this their new Undertaking for the *Catholique Cause*, that through the help they have received by Money and Arms, together with their strong Incouragements from Rome, (which is the chief Wheel in this Motion) they are now ready at a Day and an Hour, when the Watch-Word shall be given, (that I may use their own word of Mystery) To begin their *Beats*, that is, to rise up and destroy all that are, or are called *Protestants*, of what Degree, Condition, or Sex soever, by Fire and Sword, and other Methods of Destruction; and not to leave any of their Persons, or so much as their Names, if it may be, to survive in this Nation. This is like to be their first attempt, and had been put in Execution before this, if the Lord himself, whose Eyes behold the Nations, had not most graciously

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ously disappointed them. And their second Design, which stands behind the Curtain, is like the first, to wit, if that succeed, then afterwards to *destroy all the English Blood*, against which they have the greatest Antipathy, and to plant this Land with *French* and other *Foreigners*, that so they may thoroughly restore it to its former *Popish Splendor*, to the great Satisfaction of all *Popish Christians*:

Wherefore (if it be possible) and if it be the good Pleasure of the Lord to put a Stop, (and Oh that it might be a full Point and Period!) to these Bold Intrusions of Popery, and to all the Cruel Designs in the Breast of it; it was thought meet for the common utility of all Protestants and Englishmen, to represent afresh unto them the Memorable Acts of Henry the VIII. King of England, for the extirpating the Pope and his Cursed Religion, out of his Dominion. And what He saw so great cause to reject and cast out as Abominable and Intolerable, upon such unanswerable grounds as He expresseth; sure no man that is in his right Wits, and of a sound Judgment, hath any just ground to endeavour to bring in again. And this thou thyself, whoever thou art, that art either in the right Faith of a Christian, or in the right Wits of a Man, wilt judge, if thou shalt wisely and impartially read, and observe what followeth.

Henry

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King *Henry VIII.* his Proclamation for the
Abolishing the Usurped Power of the
Pope ; as it is recorded in *Fox* his Book of
Martyrs, *Fol. 335. Vol. 2.*

THUSKIE and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas not onely upon good, and just, and vertuous grounds and respects, edified upon the Laws of holy Scripture, by due consultation, deliberation, advisement, and consent, as well of all other our Nobles and Commons Temporal, as also Spiritual, assembled in our high Court of Parliament, and by Authority of the same, we have by good and wholsom Laws and Statutes made for this purpose, extirped, abolished, separated, and secluded out of this our Realm, the Abuses of the Bishop of Rome, his Authority and Jurisdiction of long time usurped, as well upon us and our Realm, as upon all other Kings and Princes and their Realms, (like as they themselves have confessed and affirmed ;) but also for as much as our said Nobles and Commons, both Spiritual and Temporal, assembled in our high Court of Parliament, have upon good, lawful, and vertuous grounds, and for the publick weal of this our Realm, by one whole Assent granted, annexed, knit, and united to the Crown Imperial of the same, the Title, Dignity, and Style of Supreme Head or Governour in earth, immediately under God, of the Church of England, as we be and undoubtedly have hitherto been. The Kings Proclamation against the Pope. Which Title and Style both the Bishops and Clergy of this our Realm have not onely in Convocation assembled, consented, recognized, and approbated lawfully and justly to appertain unto us, but also by Word, Oath, Profession, and Writing under their Signs and Seals, have confessed, ratified, corroborated, and confirmed the same, utterly renouncing all other Oaths and Obedience to any other forein Potentates, and all forein Jurisdicions and Powers, as well of the said Bishop of Rome, as of all other whatsoever they be, as by their said Professions and Writings corroborated with the Subscription of their Names, and Appension of their Seals more plainly appeareth. We let you to wit, that calling to our remembrance the Power, Charge, and Commission given unto us of Almighty God, and upon a vehement love and affection toward our loving and faithful Subjects, perceiving right well

The Style of
Supreme Head
annexed to
the Crown of
England.

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well what great rest, quietness, and tranquillity of Conscience, and manifold other commodities might insurge and arise unto them, if that the said Bishops and other of the Clergy of this our Realm should set forth, declare, and preach to them the true and sincere Word of God, and without all manner colour, dissimulation, and hypocrisie, manifest and publish the great and innumerable Enormities and Abuses which the said Bishop of Rome, as well in the Title and Style, as also in Authority and Jurisdiction, of long time unlawfully and unjustly hath usurped upon us and our Progenitors, and also other Christian Princes; have therefore addressed our Letters unto the Bishop of the Diocese, straitly charging and commanding him in the same, that not onely he in his own proper person shall declare, teach, and preach unto the People, forthwith upon the receipt of our said Letters unto him directed, every Sunday and other high feasts through the year, the true, mere, and sincere Word of God; and that the same Title, Style, and Jurisdiction of Supreme Head appertaineth onely to our Crown and Dignity Royal. Likewise as the said Bishop, and all other the Bishops of our Realm, have by Oath affirmed, and confirmed by Subscription of their Names, and setting to their Seals, but also give warning, monition, and charge, to all manner Abbats, Priors, Deans, Archdeacons, Probsts, Parsons, Vicars, Curats, and all other Ecclesiastical Persons within his said Diocese, as well to teach, preach, publish, and declare, in all manner Churches our aforesaid just Title, Style, and Jurisdiction, every Sunday and high feast through the year, and further to monish and command all other Schoolmasters within his said Diocese, to instruct and teach the same unto the Children committed unto them; as also to cause all manner Prayers, Orisons, Rubrics, Canons of Mass-books, and all other Books in the Churches, wherein the said Bishop of Rome is named, or his presumptuous and proud Pomp and Authority preferred, utterly to be abolished, eradicate, and razed out, and his Name and Memory to be never more (except to his contumely and reproach) remembered, but perpetually suppressed and obscured. And finally, to desist and leave out all such Articles as be in the general Sentence, which is usually accustomed to be read, four times in the year, and do tend to the glory and advancement of the Bishop of Rome, his Name, Title, and Jurisdiction.

Whereupon we esteeming and reputing you to be of such singular and vehement zeal and affection toward the glory of Almighty God, and of so faithful, loving, and obedient heart towards us, as you will not onely do and accomplish with

The Popes
Name and
Memory abolished.

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with all power, wisdom, diligence, and labour, whatsoever should or might be to the preferment and setting forward of Gods word, but also practise, study, and endeavour your self, with all your policy, wit, power, and good will, to amplify, defend, and maintain all such Interest, Right, Title, Style, Jurisdiction, and Authority, as is in any wise appertaining unto us, our Dignity, and Prerogative, and Crown Imperial of this our Realm; have thought good and expedient not onely to signifie unto you by these our Letters the particularities of the Charge, Monition, and Commandment given by us unto the said Bishop, as before is specified, but also to require and straitly charge and command you, upon pain of your Allegiance, and as you shall avoid our high Indignation and Displeasure at your utmost peril, laying apart all vain affections, respects, or other carnal considerations, and setting onely before your eyes the mirror of truth, the glory of God, the dignity of your Sovereign Lord and King, and the great concord and unity, and inestimable profit and utility, that shall by the due execution of the premises ensue to your self, and all other faithful and loving Subjects, ye make or cause to be made diligent search and wait, and especially in every place of your Shirewicks, whether the said Bishop do truly and sincerely, and without all manner cloke, colour, or dissimulation, execute, and accomplish our will and commandment, as is aforesaid. And in case ye shall hear, perceive, and appropably understand and know, that the said Bishop, or any other Ecclesiastical Person within his Diocese, do omit and leave undone any part or parcel of the premises, or else in the execution and setting forth of the same, do coldly and feignedly use any manner sinister addition, wrong interpretation, or painted colour; then we straitly charge and command you, that forthwith upon any such default, negligence, or dissimulation of the said Bishop, or any other Ecclesiastical Person of his Diocese, contrary to the true tenour, meaning, and effect of the said Charge by us to him appointed aforesaid, ye do make indelayedly, and with all speed and diligence, declaration, and advertisement, to us and our Council, of the said default, and of the behaviour, manner, and fashion of the same.

And forasmuch as we upon singular trust and assured confidence which we have in you, and for the special love and zeal we suppose and think ye bear toward us and the publick and common wealth, Unity, and Tranquillity of this our Realm, have specially elected and chosen you among so many for this purpose, and have reputed you
such

such men, as unto whose wisdom, discretion, truth and fidelity, we might commit a matter of such great weight, moment, and importance, as whereupon the Unity and Tranquillity of our Realm doth consist. If ye should contrary to our expectation and trust which we have in you, and against your duty and Allegiance towards us, neglect or omit to do with all your diligence and wisdom, whatsoever shall be in your power, for the due performance of our mind and pleasure to you before declared in this behalf, or halt or stumble at any part or specialty of the same; be ye assured that we like a Prince of Justice will so extremely punish you for the same, that all the world besides shall take by you example and beware, contrary to their Allegiance, to disobey the lawful Commandment of their Sovereign Lord and Prince in such things, as by the faithful execution whereof, ye shall not onely advance the Honour of Almighty God, and set forth the Majesty and Imperial Dignity of your Sovereign Lord, but also bring an inestimable weal, profit, and commodity, unity and tranquillity to all the common State of this our Realm, wherein to both by the Laws of God, Nature, and Man, ye be utterly bound.

Given under our Signet at our Palace of
Westminster, the 9. day of June.

Furthermore, that no man shall cabil or surmise this fatal fall and ruine of the Pope to have come rashly upon the Kings own partial affection, or by any sensual temerity of a few, and not by the grave and advised Judgment, Approbation, and Consent, generally and publicly, as well of the Nobles and Commons Temporal, as also upon substantial grounds, and the very strength of truth, by the discussion and consultation of the Spiritual and most Learned Persons in this Realm. It shall be requisite moreover to these premises, to adjoyn the words and testimonies also of the Bishops own oaths and profession made to the King, yielding and rendering unto him onely the Style of Supreme Head next under Christ of the Church of England; all other Service, Subjection, and Obedience to be given to any other foreign Potentate, which should be prejudicial to the Kings Highness in this behalf being excluded, and that both frankly and freely of their own voluntary motion, and also upon the faith and fidelity of their Priesthood, as by their own words and handwriting may appear, in form as hereunder followeth.

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The Oath of *Stephen Gardener* Bishop of
Winchester, made to King Henry VIII.

EGO Stephanus Wintoniensis Episcopus, pure, sponte, & absolute, in verbo Pontificio, profiteor ac spondeo illustrissimæ vestræ Regiæ Majestati, singulari ac summo Domino meo & Patrono, Henrico Dei gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Regi, Fidei Defensori, Domino Hiberniæ, atque in terris Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Supremo immediate sub Christo Capiti, quod posthac nulli externo Imperatori, Regi, Principi, aut Prælato, nec Romano Pontifici (quem Papam vocant) fidelitatem & obedientiam, &c.

The Oath of
Stephen Gardener
to the
King.

Translated into English thus.

I Stephen Bishop of Winchester, do purely of mine own voluntary accord, and absolutely in the word of a Bishop, profess and promise to your Princely Majesty, my singular and chief Lord and Patron, Henry the Eighth, by the grace of God King of England and of France, Defender of the faith, Lord of Ireland, and in earth of the Church of England Supreme Head immediately under Christ; That from this day forward I shall swear, promise, give, or cause to be given, to no forein Potentate, Emperour, King, Prince, or Prelate, nor yet to the Bishop of Rome, whom they call Pope, any Oath or fealty directly or indirectly, either by word or writing; but at all times, and in every case and condition, I shall observe, hold, and maintain, to all effects and intents, the quarrel and cause of your Royal Majesty and your Successors, and to the uttermost of my power shall defend the same against all manner of persons, whomsoever I shall know or suspect to be Adversaries to your Majesty, or to your Successors, and shall give my faith, truth, and obedience, sincerely and with my very heart, onely to your Royal Majesty as to my Supreme Prince. I profess the Papacy of Rome not to be ordained of God by holy Scripture, but constantly do affirm and openly declare, and shall declare it, to be set up onely by Man, and shall cause diligently other men likewise to publish the same. Neither shall I enter any Treaty with any person or persons, either privily or apertly, or shall consent thereto, that the Bishop of Rome shall have or exercise here any Authority or Jurisdiction, or is to be restored to any Jurisdiction hereafter.

Stephen Gardener
abrenounceth the Pope.

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Furthermore, that the said Bishop of Rome now being, or any that shall succeed him hereafter in the said See, is not to be called Pope, nor Supreme Bishop, or Universal Bishop, nor most holy Lord, but onely ought to be called Bishop of Rome, and fellow Brother, (as the old manner of the most ancient Bishops hath been.) This I shall to my power openly maintain and defend.

And I shall firmly observe, and cause to be observed of other, to the uttermost of my cunning, wit, and power, all such Laws and Acts of this Realm, how and whatsoever, as have been enacted and established for the extirpation and suppression of the Papacy, and of the Authority and Jurisdiction of the said Bishop of Rome. Neither shall I appeal hereafter to the said Bishop of Rome, nor ever consent to any person that shall appeal to him; neither shall I attempt, prosecute, or follow any Suit in the Court of Rome, for any cause of right or justice to be had, or shall make answer to any Plea or Action, nor shall take upon me the person and office either of the Plaintiff or Defendant in the said Court. And if the said Bishop by his Messenger, or by his Letters, shall make any means or signification unto me, of any matter whatsoever it be, I shall with all speed and diligence make declaration and advertisement thereof, or cause the same to be signified either to your Princely Majesty, or to some of your secret Council, or to your Successors, or any of their privy Council. Neither shall I send or cause to be sent at any time any writing or messenger to the said Bishop or to his Court, without the knowledge or consent of your Majesty or your Successors, willing me to send writing or messenger unto him. Neither shall I procure or give counsel to any person to procure Bulls, Briefs, or Rescripts whatsoever, either for me or for any other, from the said Bishop of Rome or his Court. And if any such shall be procured against my will and knowledge, either in general or in special, or else howsoever they shall be granted unto them, I shall utter and disclose the same, and not consent thereunto, nor use them in any case, and shall cause them to be brought to your Majesty or your Successors.

Furthermore, for the confirmation hereof I give my faith and truth by firm promise, and in the faith of a Bishop, that against this my foresaid Profession and Promise made I shall defend my self by no Dispensation, Exception, nor any remedy or cautel of Law or Example, during this my natural life. And if heretofore I have done or made any Protestation in prejudice of this my Profession and Promise here made, the same I do reboke at this present, and for ever hereafter, and here utterly do renounce by

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by these presents. Whereunto I have subscribed and underwritten the name both of my self and of my Bishoprick with my proper hand, and thereto also have put to my Seal, in perpetual and undoubted testimony of the premises.

Given the tenth day of February, Anno 1534, and of our Sovereign Lord King Henry the eighth twenty six.

Stephanus Wintoniensis.

The same Bishop of *Winchester's* Reasons
against the Pope's Supremacy.

Moreover the said Gardener in the forenamed Book Steph. Wint. a Lutheran in his Book De vera obedientia. De vera Obedientia, what Constancy he pretendeth, what Arguments he inferreth, how earnestly and pithily he disputeth on the Kings side against the usurped State of the Bishop of Romes Authority, by the words of his Book it may appear; whereof a brief Collection here followeth.

In the process of his foresaid Book, he alledging the old distinction of the Papists, wherein they give to the Prince the Regiment of things Temporal, and to the Church of things Spiritual; comparing the one to the greater Light, the other to the lesser Light, he confuteth and derideth the same distinction, declaring the Sword of the Church to extend no further, than to Teaching and Excommunication, and referreth all preheminnence to the Sword of the Prince; alledging for this the second Psalm, And now you Kings be wise, and be learned ye that judge the earth, &c. The Sword of the Church how far it extendeth. Psal 2.

Also the example of Salomon, who being a King, according to his Fathers appointment ordained the Offices of the Priests in their Ministeries, and Levites in their Order, that they might give thanks and minister before the Priests, after the order of every day, and Porters in their divisions gate by gate. 2 Par. 28. Exod. 32.

And speaking more of the said Salomon he saith, For so commanded the Man of God, neither did the Priests nor Levites omit any thing of all that he had commanded, &c. 1 Reg. 22.

Besides this, he alledgeth also the example of King Ezechias, 2 Paralyp. 28. He alledgeth moreover the example and fact of Justinian, which made Laws touching the faith, Bishops, Clerks, Hereticks, and such other.

Aaron

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Aaron (saith he) obeyed Moses, Salomon gave sentence upon Abiathar the High Priest.

1 Macch. 10.
1 Macch. 14.

Alexander the King (in the first of Macchabees) writeth thus to Jonathas, Now have we made thee this day the High Priest of thy people, &c. So did Demetrius to Simon.

Matth. 16.

Then coming to the words of Christ spoken to Peter, Matthew 16. upon which words the Pope pretendeth to build all his Authority, to this he answereth, That if Christ by those words had limited to Peter any such special state or preheminance above all Princes, then were it not true that is written, *Cœpit Jesus docere & facere*; forasmuch as the words of Christ should then be contrary to his own facts and example, who in all his life never usurped either in himself any such domination above Princes, shewing himself rather subject unto Princes; nor yet did ever permit to his Apostles any such example of ambition to be seen, but rather rebuked them for seeking any manner of Majority amongst them.

The Kings
Style and Ti-
tle approved
by *Steph. Wint.*

And where he reasoneth of the Kings Style and Title, being called the King of England and of France, Defender of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, and Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England immediately under Christ, &c. thus he addeth his mind and censure, saying, That he seeth no cause in this Title why any man should be offended, that the King is called the Head of the Church of England, rather than of the Realm of England; and addeth his reason thereunto, saying, If the Prince and King of England be the Head of his Kingdom, that is, of all Englishmen that be his Subjects, is there any cause why the same English Subjects should not be subject to the same Head likewise, in this respect because they are Christians, that is to say, for the title of Godliness, as though that God, which is the cause of all Obedience, should now be the cause of Rebellion?

At length thus he concludeth with an Exclamation saying, To say (saith he) that a King is the Head of a Kingdom, and not of the Church, what an absurd and a foolish saying is this?

The King is as
well the Head
of the Church
as of his King-
dom.

And further, adding for example the subjection of the Servant and wife. If the Servant (saith he) be subject to his Master, or wife to her Husband, being Infidels, doth their Conversion afterward, or name of Christians, make them less Subjects than they were before? As Religion therefore doth not alter the Authority of the Master over the Servant, nor of the Husband over the wife; no more (saith he) doth it between the Prince and Subjects.

Paul

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Paul making no exception nor distinction of Subjection, save onely of that which belongeth to God, willet all men to obey their Princes; and what Princes? Those Princes which bear the sword. And although we are bound by the Scripture to obey our Bishops and Spiritual Pastors of the Church, yet that obedience diminisheth nothing the chief and head Authority that ought to be given to the Prince, no more than the obedience of the Servant to his Master, or of the Wife to her Husband, exempteth them from Subjection due to their Superiour Powers.

And here withall he inferreth a principle of the Law; A Rule of the Law. Divers Jurisdictions (saith he) proceeding from one person do not marry nor hinder themselves, but rather do confirm and fortifie one another.

Again, whereas the Bishop of Rome under the name of Peter doth appropriate to himself the highest place in the Church, for that he is the Successor of Peter. Thereunto he answereth in one word, but in that one word he answereth enough and to the full; I would (saith he) he were, Wenchesters, with that the Pope were Peters Successor. for so in very deed he might well exceed and pass all Kings and Princes, if not in preheminiency of Dignity, yet in admiration and excellency of virtue; in which kind of superiority the Lord Christ would his Apostles and Ministers to go before all Kings and Emperours in the whole world.

After this, in prosecuting the Argument of Peters Confession, he argueth thus and saith; that as flesh and blood did not reveal to Peter that Confession, so neither was that Prerogative given to the flesh and blood of Peter, but to the Argument: The Prerogative was given to him which confessed. better part, that is, to the spirit of Peter, which is to mean, Flesh and blood in Peter did not confess Christ. in respect of the spiritual Confession of Peter, and not in respect of any carnal place or person, &c.

Item, If the Scholar ought not to be above the Master, how then could either Peter take that upon him, which Christ his Master so constantly did refuse? Or how can the Bishop of Rome now claim that by Succession, whereof no example is to be found either in the Head, or his Predecessor before him? For so we read in Eusebius, both of Peter, James, and John, that they did arrogate no such Primacy unto them, but were content that James surnamed Justus should be the Bishop of the Apostles. Ergo the Prerogative was not given to the flesh and blood of Peter.

And as for the name and signification of the word Primatus, i. Primacy, if it be taken for the first nomination, or the first place given, so he granteth that Peter had the preferment of the first name and place in the order of the Apostles; but it followeth not, that with this Primacy he had also a Kingdom given. And though he were bid of the Lord to confirm his Brethren, yet was he not bid to exercise an Impery upon his Brethren, for so were they not his Brethren but his Subjects. Primasus or Primacy what it signifieth. He saith, Confirm thy Brethren, but not thy Subjects.

E

That

Primus Primatus, i. Primacy
meaneth as
much as the
first standing
in Vocation,
and is the
name of Ver-
ue and not of
Power.

That Peter was Primus, that is, first or chief in the number of them which confessed Christ, it is not to be denied, for first he confessed, first he taught the Jews, first he stood in defence of the Clergy, and was the first and chief Prolocutor among them; but yet that maketh not that he should therefore vindicate a general Primacy and Rule over all other States and Potentates of the world, no more than Apelles, because he is noted the first and chief of all Painters, therefore ought to bear rule over all Painters; or because the University of Paris is nominate for the first and chief of other Universities, shall therefore the French King and all other Princes, in their publick Administration wherein they are set of God, become Subjects and Underlings to that University?

Thus after many other reasons and persuasions contained in the said Book De obedientia, (for I do but superficially skim over the top onely of his Probations and Arguments) finally in the end of his Peroration he concludeth the whole summe of his mind in this effect; first denying that the Bishop of Rome had ever any such extern Jurisdiction assigned to him absolutely from God, to reign over Kings and Princes; for the probation whereof he hath alledged sufficiently (as he saith) the examples and doings of Christ himself, which ought to be to us all a sufficient Document.

And as concerning the term of Primacy, albeit it be used sometimes of the Fathers, yet the matter being well considered and rightly expounded, maketh nothing for the large Dominion of the Bishop of Rome, which now he doth usurp.

Also as for the Prerogatives granted unto Peter, by the which Prerogatives our Saviour would crown his own Gifts given unto him, crowning not the flesh and bloud of Peter, but the marvellous testimony of his Confession, all this maketh nothing for the Popes purpose.

*Succession of
Peter.*

Likewise as concerning the Local Succession of Peter, the Pope hath nothing thereby to claim. If he will be Successor of Peter, he must succeed him in Faith, Doctrine, and Conditions; and in so doing he neither will, neither yet shall need to seek for Honour, but shall be honoured of all good men, according as a good man should be, and that much more than he being a good man would require.

*Steph. Win-
takes his Title
of the Pope,
but not his
Ultimum Vale.*

And thus Stephen Winchester taking his leave, and bidding the Pope farewell, endeth with a friendly Exhortation, willing him to be wise and circumspect, and not to strive stubbornly against the truth. The light of the Gospel (saith he) so spreadeth his beams in all mens eyes, that the works of the Gospel be known, the Mysteries of Christ

(15)

Christs Doctrine are opened, both learned and unlearned Men and Women, being English born, do see and perceive that they have nothing to do with Rome, nor with the Bishop of Rome, but that every Prince in his own Dominion is to be taken and accepted as a Vicar of God, and Vicegerent of Christ in his own bounds. And therefore seeing this Order is taken of God, and one in the Church should bear the Office of Teaching, another should bear the Office of Ruling, (which Office is onely limited to Princes) he exhorteth him to consider the truth, and to follow the same, wherein consisteth our true and special Obedience, &c.

The Office of
Teaching.
The Office of
Ruling.

A Letter of the University of Cambridge
against the Usurped Power of the Bishop
of Rome.

U Niversis Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filiis, ad quos presentes Literæ pervenirunt sunt, cœtus omnis regentium & non regentium Academiæ Cantabrigiensi, salutem, in omnium salvatore Jesu Christo.

Cum de Romani Pontificis potestate, &c.

Translated into English thus.

TO all and singular Children of the holy Mother Church, to whose hands these presents shall come, the whole Society of Regents and not Regents of the University of Cambridge, sendeth greeting in our Saviour Jesus Christ.

A Letter of
the University
of Cambridge.

Whereas now of late it hath risen up in question among us concerning the Power of the Bishop of Rome, which he doth both claim to himself by the holy Scripture, over all Provinces and Nations in Christendom, and hath now of long time exercised in this Realm of England: And forasmuch as our Censure concerning the cause is required, to wit, whether the Bishop of Rome hath any Power or Authority in this Kingdom of England allotted to him by God in the Scripture, more than any other foreign Bishop, or no? We thought it therefore good reason, and our duty for the searching out of the verity of the said Question, that we should imploy therein our whole endeavour and study, whereby we might tender and publish to the world what our reason and censure is touching the premises.

For

(16)

For therefore we suppose that Universities were first provided and instituted of Princes, to the end that both the people of Christ might in the Law of God be instructed, and also that false Errors (if any did rise) might through the vigilant care and industry of learned Divines be discussed, extinguished, and utterly rooted out. For the which cause we in our Assemblies and Convocations (after our accustomed manner) resorting and conferring together upon the Question aforesaid, and studiously debating and deliberating with our selves, how and by what order we might best proceed for the finding out of the truth of the matter; and at length choosing out certain of the best learned Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity, and other Masters, have committed to them in charge, studiously to insearch and peruse the places of holy Scripture, by the viewing and conferring of which places together, they might certify us what is to be said to the Question propounded.

The Censure
of the Uni-
versity of
Cambridge
against the
Popes Supre-
macy.

Forasmuch therefore as we having heard and well advised, and thoroughly discussed in open Disputations, what may be said on both parts of the foresaid Question, those Reasons and Arguments do appear to us more probable, stronger, truer, and more certain, and sounding much more near to the pure and native sense of Scripture, which do deny the Bishop of Rome to have any such power given him of God in the Scripture. By reason and force of which Arguments we being persuaded, and conjoining together in one Opinion, have with our selves thus decreed to answer unto the Question aforesaid, and in these writings thus resolutely do answer in the name of the whole University, and for a Conclusion undoubted do affirm, approve, and pronounce, That the Bishop of Rome hath no more State, Authority, and Jurisdiction given him of God in the Scriptures over this Realm of England, than any other extern Bishop hath. And in testimony and credence of this our Answer and Affirmation, we have caused our common Seal to be put to these our foresaid Letters accordingly.

The Bishop
of Rome hath
no more State
in England
than hath any
other Bishop.

At Cambridge in our Regent House,
Anno Dom. 1534.

The

(17)

The publick and general Agreement of the whole Clergy of *England*, confirmed and ratified in their own publick Book called *The Bishops Book*, Anno 1534. with the Names of the Witnesses.

WE think it convenient, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach the People committed unto their spiritual charge, that whereas certain men do imagine and affirm, that Christ should give unto the Bishop of Rome power and authority, not onely to be Head and Governour of all Priests and Bishops in Christs Church, but also to have and occupy the whole Monarchy of the World in his hands, and that he may thereby lawfully depose Kings and Princes from their Realms, Dominions, and Seigniories, and so transfer and give the same to such persons as him liketh, that is utterly false and untrue; for Christ never gave unto S. Peter, or unto any of the Apostles or their Successors, any such Authority. And the Apostles S. Peter and S. Paul do teach and command, that all Christian People, as well Priests and Bishops, as others, should be obedient and subject unto the Princes and Potentates of the World, although they were Infidels.

Testimonies
out of the Bi-
shops Book
against the
Popes Supre-
macy.

And as for the Bishop of Rome, it was many hundred years after Christ before he could acquire or get any Primacy or Governance abode any other Bishops out of his Province in Italy; since the which time he hath ever usurped more and more. And though some part of his power was given to him by the consent of the Emperours, Kings and Princes, and by the consent also of the Clergy in General Councils assembled; yet surely he attained the most part thereof by marvellous subtilty and craft, and especially by colluding with great Kings and Princes, sometime training them into his Devotion by pretence and colour of Holiness and Sanctimony, and sometime constraining them by force and tyranny. Whereby the said Bishops of Rome aspired and rose at length unto such greatness in Strength and Authority, that they presumed and took upon them to be Heads, and to put Laws by their own Authority, not onely unto all other Bishops within Christendom, but also unto the Emperours, Kings, and other the Princes and Lords of the world, and that under

How the Bi-
shop of Rome
rose by ambi-
tion.

Concilium ter-
tium Cartha-
gense cap. 6.

f.

the

First, the General Council of *Nice* decreed, that the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* should have like power over the Countries about those Cities, as the Bishops of *Rome* had over the Countries about *Rome*.

In the Council of *Milevian* it was decreed, that if a Clerk of *Africk* would appeal out of *Africk* unto any Bishop beyond the Sea, he should be taken as a person Excommunicate.

In the General Council of *Constantinople* the first it was likewise decreed, that every Cause between any persons should be determined within the Provinces where the matters did lie; and that no Bishop should exercise any power out of his own Diocese or Province. And this was also the mind of holy *S. Cyprian*, and of other holy men of *Africa*.

To conclude, therefore the Pope hath no such Primacy given him, either by the words of Scripture, or by any General Council, or by common consent of the holy Catholick Church.

the pretence of the Authority committed unto them by the Gospel; wherein the said Bishops of *Rome* do not onely abuse and pervert the true sense and meaning of Christs word, but they do also clean contrary to the use and custom of the Primitive Church, and so do manifestly violate as well the holy Canons made in the Church immediately after the time of the Apostles, as also the Decrees and Constitutions made in that behalf by the holy Fathers of the Catholick Church assembled in the first General Councils. And finally, they do transgress their own profession made in their Creation. For all the Bishops of *Rome* always, when they be consecrated and made Bishops of that *See*, do make a so-

lemn profession and vow, that they shall inviolably observe and keep all the Ordinances made in the first eight General Councils; among the which it is specially prohibited and enacted, that all Causes shall be finished and determined within the Province where the same begun, and that by the Bishops of the same Province, and that no Bishop shall exercise any Jurisdiction out of his own Province: and divers such other Canons were then made and confirmed by the said Councils to repress and take away out of the Church all such Primacy and Jurisdiction over Kings and Bishops, as the Bishops of *Rome* pretend now to have over the same. And we find that divers good Fathers, Bishops of *Rome*, did greatly reprove, yea and abhor (as a thing clean contrary to the Gospel, and the Decrees of the Church) that any Bishop of *Rome*, or elsewhere, should presume, usurp, or take upon him the Title and Name of Universal Bishop, or of the Head of all Priests, or of the Highest Priest, or any such like Title. For confirmation whereof it is out of all doubt, that there is no mention made neither in Scripture, nor in the Writings of any authentical Doctor or Author of the Church, being within the time of the Apostles, that Christ did ever make or institute any distinction or difference to be in the preheminance of Power, Order, or Jurisdiction, between the Apostles themselves, or between the Bishops themselves, but that they were all equal in Power, Order, Authority, and Jurisdiction. And that there is now, and since the time of the Apostles, any such diversity or difference among the Bishops, it was devised by the antient Fathers

*Gregorius l. 4.
Epistolaram
in lictione 13.
Epist. 13.*

(19)

thers of the Primitive Church, for the conseruation of good order and unity of the Catholick Church, and that either by the consent and authority, or else at the least by the permission and sufferance of the Princes and Civil powers for the time ruling, &c.

And shortly after followeth, And for the better confirmation of this part, we think it also convenient that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge, that Christ did by expresse words prohibit, that none of his Apostles, nor any of their Successors, should, under the pretence of the Authority given unto them by Christ, take upon them the Authority of the Sword; that is to say, the Authority of Kings, or of any Civil Power in this world, yea or any Authority to make Laws or Ordinances in causes appertaining unto Civil Powers. Truth it is, the Priests and Bishops may execute all such Temporal Power and Jurisdiction, as is committed unto them by the Ordinance and Authority of Kings, or other Civil powers, and by the consent of the people, (as Officers and Ministers under the said Kings and Powers) so long as it shall please the said Kings and People to permit and suffer them so to use and execute the same. Notwithstanding if any Bishop, of what estate or dignity soever he be, be he Bishop of Rome, or of any other City, Province, or Diocese, do presume to take upon him Authority or Jurisdiction in causes or matters which appertain unto Kings, and the civil powers and their Courts, and will maintain or think that he may so do by the Authority of Christ and his Gospel, although the Kings and Princes would not permit and suffer him so to do; no doubt that Bishop is not worthy to be called a Bishop, but rather a Tyrant, and as Usurper of other mens rights contrary to the Law of God, and is worthy to be reputed none otherwise than he that goeth about to subvert the Kingdom of Christ. For the Kingdom of Christ in his Church is a spiritual, and not a carnal Kingdom of the world; that is to say, the very Kingdom that Christ by himself or by his Apostles and Disciples sought here in this world, was to bring all Nations from the carnal Kingdom of the Prince of darkness unto the light of his spiritual Kingdom, and so himself to reign in the hearts of the people by grace, faith, hope, and charity. And therefore litch Christ did never seek nor exercise any worldly Kingdom or Dominion in this world, but rather refusing and flying from the same, did leave the said worldly Governance of Kingdoms, Realms, and Nations, to be governed by Princes and Potentates, (in like manner as he did find them) and commanded also his Apostles and Disciples to do the same.

The Bishop of Rome judged to be a Tyrant and Usurper.

(20)

semblable, as it was said before; whatsoever Priest or Bishop will arrogate or presume to take upon him any such Authority, and will pretend the Authority of the Gospel for his defence therein, he doth nothing else but (in a manner as you would say) crowneth Christ again with a Crown of Thorn, and traduceth and bringeth him forth again with his Mantle of Purple upon his back, to be mocked and scorned of the world, as the Jews did to their own damnation.

This Doctrine was subscribed and allowed by the witness and testimony of these Bishops and other Learned Men, whose Names hereunder follow, as appeareth in the Bishops Book before named.

T E S T E S.

Testimonies
of Bishops
and Doctors
of England
against the
Pope.

Thomas Cantuariensis	Edmundus Bonner Archidia-
Edouardus Eboracensis	con. Leicester.
Johannes Londonensis	Guilielmus Skippe Archidia-
Cuthbertus Dunelmensis	con. Dorset.
Stephanus Wintoniensis	Nicolaus Heth Archidiacon.
Robertus Carliolensis	Stafford.
Johannes Exoniensis	Cuthbertus Marshall Archidia-
Johannes Lincolnienfis	con. Nottingham.
Johannes Bathoniensis	Richardus Curten Archidia-
Rolandus Coventr. & Lichfield.	con. Oxon.
Thomas Eliensis	Guilielmus Glife
Nicolaus Sarum	Galfridus Dounes
Johannes Bangor.	Robertus Oking
Edouardus Herefordiensis	Radulphus Bradford
Hugo Wigorniensis	Richardus Smith
Johannes Roffensis	Simon Matthew
Richardus Ciceftrenfis	Johannes Prin
Guilielmus Menevensis	Guilielmus Buckmaster
Robertus Assaensis	Guilielmus May
Robertus Landavenfis	Nicolaus Wotton
Guilielmus Norwicensis	Richardus Cox
Richardus Wolman Archidia-	Johannes Edmunds
con. Sudbur.	Thomas Robertson
Guilielmus Knight Archidia-	Johannes Baker
con. Richmond.	Thomas Barret
Johannes Bell Archidiacon.	Johannes Hafe
Gloucester.	Johannes Tyson.

These were Doctors of Divinity and both Laws.

(21)

A Protestation in the name of the King, and the whole Council and Clergy of *England*, why they refuse to come to the Popes Council at his call.

Seeing that the Bishop of Rome calleth Learned Men from all parts, conducting them by great rewards, making as many of them Cardinals as he thinketh most meet, and most ready to defend frauds and untruths; we could not but with much anxiety cast with our selves, what so great a preparance of wits should mean. As chance was we guessed even as it followed. We have been so long acquainted with Romish Subtilties and Popish Deceits, that we well and easily judged the Bishop of Rome to intend an Assembly of his Adherents, and men sworn to think all his Lulls to be Laws; we were not deceived. Paul the Bishop of Rome hath called a Council, to the which he knew well either few or none of the Christian Princes could come; both the time that he indicated it, and also the place where he appointed it to be, might assure him of this. But whither wander not these Popish Bulls? whither wander they not astray? What King is not cited and summoned by a proud Minister and Servant of Kings, to come to bolster up Errors, frauds, Deceits, and Untruths, and to set forth this feigned General Council? For who will not think that Paul the Bishop of Rome goeth sooner about to make men believe that he pretendeth a General Council, than that he desireth one indeed? No, who can less desire it, than they that do despair of their Cause, except they be Judges and give sentence themselves against their Adversaries? We which very sore against our will at any time leave off the procurement of the Realm any common weal, need neither to come our selves, nor yet to send any Procurators thither, nor yet to make our Excuse for either of both. For who can accuse us that we come not at his call, which hath no Authority to call us?

The Kings
Protestation
why he sends
not to the
Popes Coun-
cil.

The Popes
craft espied.

The King not
bound to
come at the
Popes call.

But for a season let us (as a sort of Blindlings do) grant that he may call us, and that he hath Authority so to do; yet (we pray you) may not all men see, what availeth it to come to this Council, where ye shall have no place except ye be known both willing to oppress truth, and also ready to confirm and stablish Errors? Do not all men perceive as well as we, with what integrity, fidelity, and religion,

Who be they
that have
place in the
Popes Coun-
cil.

(22)

t these men go about to discuss matters in controverſie, that take them in hand in ſo troubleſom a time as this is? Is it not plain what fruit the Commonweal of Chriſtendom may look for there, whereas Mantua is choſen the place to keep his Council in? Is there any Prince not being of Italy, yea is there any of Italy, Prince or other diſſenting from the Pope, that dareth come to this Aſſembly and to this place? If there come none that dare ſpeak for trodden truth, none that will venture his life, is it marvell if the Biſhop of Rome being Judge, no man repining, no man gainſaying, the Defenders of the Papacy obtain that Popiſh Authority, now quailing and almoſt fallen, to be ſet up again.

The place of
the Council
not indiffer-
ent.

No reaſon
that the Pope
ſhould be
Judge in his
own cauſe.

The Biſhop of
Rome in learn-
ing and life
far under
other Biſhops.

Is this the way to help things afflicted? to redreſs troubled Religion? to liſt up oppreſſed truth? Shall men this way know whether the Roman Biſhops (which in very deed are, if ye look upon either their Doctrins or Life, far under other Biſhops) ought to be made like their fellows, that is, to be Paſtors in their own Dioceſe, and ſo to uſe no other power; or elſe whether they may make Laws, not onely unto other Biſhops, but alſo to Kings and Emperours? O boldneſs, met to be beaten down with force, and not not to be convinced with Arguments. Can either Paul that now Lordeth, or any of his, earneſtly go about (if they alone, or at the leaſt without any Adverſary, be thus in a corner aſſembled together) to heal the Sickneſſes, to take away the Errors, to pluck down the Abuses that now are crept into the Church, and there be bolſtered up by ſuch Councils as now is like to be at Mantua?

Paul the Pope
proleth for
his own pro-
fit.

England take
her leave
of the Pope
for ever.

England reſu-
ſeth the Popes
Merchandize.

Is it very like that theſe, which prole for nothing but profit, will right gladly pull down all ſuch things as their forefathers made, onely for the increaſe of Money? Where- as their forefathers, when their Honour, Power, and Pri- macy was called into queſtion, would either in deſpight of Gods Law maintain their Dignity, or (to ſay better) their intolerable Pride? Is it like that theſe will not tread in their ſteps, and make naughty new Canons, whereby they may defend old evil Decrees? Howbeit, what need we to care either what they have done, or what they intend to do hereafter, forasmuch as England hath taken her leave of Popiſh Trafficks for ever, never to be deluded with them here- after? Roman Biſhops have nothing to do with Engliſh People; the one doth not traffick with the other, at leaſt though they will have to do with us, yet we will none of their merchandize, none of their ſtuff, we will receive them of our council no more. We have ſought our hurt, and bought our loſs a great while too long. Surely their De- crees, either touching things ſet up or put down, ſhall have

non

(23)

none other place with us than all Bishops Decrees have, that is, if we like them we admit them, if we do not we refuse them. But lest peradventure men shall think us to follow our senses too much, and that we moved by small or no just causes, forsake the Authority, Censures, Decrees, and Popish Counsels, we thought it best here to shew our mind to the whole world. Wherefore we protest before God and all men, that we embrace, profess, and will ever so do, the right and holy Doctrine of Christ. All the Articles of his faith, no jot omitted, be all so dear unto us, that we should much sooner stand in jeopardy of our Realm, than to see any point of Christs Religion in jeopardy with us. We protest that we never went from the unity of his faith, neither that we will depart an inch from it. No, we will much sooner lose our Lives, than any Article of our Belief shall decay in England. We, which in all this cause seek nothing but the glory of God, the profit and quietness of the world, protest that we can suffer Deceivers no longer. We never refused to come to a General Council; no, we promise all our labour, study, and fidelity, to the setting up of trodden Truth and troubled Religion in their place again, and to do all that shall lie in us to finish such Controversies as have a great while too long vexed Christendom. Onely we will all Christian men be admonished, that we can suffer no longer that they be esteemed willing to take away Errors, which indeed by all the ways their wits will serve them go about this alone, that no man under pain of Death may speak against any Error or Abuse.

England goeth not from the unity of Faith although it goeth from the Pope.

The Faith of England Catholick. England ready to send to any General Council where truth may be advanced.

We would have a Council, we desire it, yea and crave nothing so oft of God as that we may have one. But yet we will that it be such as Christian men ought to have, that is, frank and free, where every man without fear may say his mind. We desire that it be an holy Council, where every man may go about to set up Godliness, and not apply all their study to oppressing of Truth. We will it be General, that is to say, kept at such time and in such place, that every man which seeketh the glory of God may be present, and there frankly utter his mind. For when it shall seem General, either when no man that dissenteth from the Bishop of Rome is compelled to be from it, or when they that be present are not letted by any just terror to say boldly what they truly think; for who would not gladly come to such a Council, except it be the Pope, his Cardinals, and Popish Bishops? On the other side, who is so foolish, whereas the chief point that is to be handled in this Council is the Popes own Cause, Power, and Primacy, to grant that the Pope should reign, should be Judge, should be Pre-

What a true General Council ought to be.

Conditions of a true General Council.

sident

(24)

The Pope
would be
Judge in his
own cause.

The Pope
hath no pow-
er to summon
Councils.

The Pope
how he can
watch his
time.

Truth may be
pressed, it can-
not be op-
pressed.

The Pope
Enemy to
Christ.

udent of the Council? If he which indeed can never think himself able to defend his Cause before any other Judge, be evermore made his own Judge, and so Controversies not decided, but Errors set up, what can be devised in the Commonwealth of Christendom more hurtful to the truth than General Councils?

And here to touch somewhat their impudent Arrogancy; By what Law, Power, or honest Title take they upon them to call Kings, to summon Princes to appear, where their Bulls command them? In time past all Councils were appointed by the Authority, Consent, and Commandment of the Emperour, Kings, and Princes; why now taketh the Bishop of Rome this upon him? Some will say, It is more likely that Bishops will more tender the cause of Religion, gladlier have Errors taken away, than Emperours, Kings, and Princes. The world hath good experience of them, and every man saith how faithfully they have handled religious matters. Is there any man that doth not see how vertuously Paul now goeth about by this occasion to set up his Tyranny again? Is it not like that he that chooseth such a time as this is to keep a Council, much intendeth the redress of things that now are amiss, that he seeketh the restoring of Religion, that now calleth a Council, the Emperour and the French King, two Princes of great power, so bent to Wars that neither they, nor any other Christian Prince can, in a manner do any thing but look for the end of this long War? So to, go to, Bishop of Rome, occasion long wish'd for offereth her self unto you; take her, she openeth a Window for your frauds to creep in at: call your Cardinals, your own Creatures, shew them that this is a jolly time to deceive Princes in.

O Fools! O wicked men! may we not justly so call you? Are ye not Fools, which being long suspected not onely of Princes, but of all Christian People in a manner, that in no case you could be brought to a General Council, plainly shew the whole world, that by these your Conciliables, your Buttermutter in corners, you take away all hope of lawful Catholick and General Council? Are you not wicked which so hate Truth, that except she be utterly banished ye will never cease to ber her? The living God is alive, neither Truth his Dearling (he being alive) can be called to so great shame, contumely, and injury; or if it may be called to all these, yet can it come to none of them. Who is he that grievously lamenteth not men to be of such shameful boldness, to shew apertly that they be Enemies unto Christ himself? On the other side, who will not be glad to see such men as foolish as they be wicked? The World is not now in a light suspicion, as it hath been hitherto,

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thereto, that you intend no reformation of Errors, but every man saith before his eyes your deceits, your wicked minds, your immortal hatred that ye bear against the Truth. Every man saith how many miserable Tragedies your pretence of an Unity and Concord hath brought into Christendom. They see your fair face of Peace hath served Sedition, and troubled almost all Christian Realms. They see ye never oppugn Religion more, than when ye will seem most to defend it. They be sorry to see that great wits a long season have spent their whole strength in defence of Deceits, Reason to put his whole power to the promoting of Pride and Ungodliness, Vertues to serve Vices, Holiness to be slave to Hypocrisie, Prudence to Subtilty, Justice to Tyranny. They be glad that Scripture now fighteth for it self, and not against it self. They be glad that God is not compelled to be against God, Christ against Christ. They be glad that Subtilty hath done no more hurt to Religion in time past, than now Constancy doth do good to Truth. They see the Marks that ye have shot at in all your Councils past, to be Lucre, Money, Gains; they see you sought your Profit, yea though it were joyn'd with the Slaughter of Truth. They see ye would ever that sooner injury should be done to the Gospel, than that your Authority, that is to say, arrogant Impudency should in any point be diminished.

The Popes
hatred against
the truth.

The Pope
troubler of all
Christian
Realms.

The Popes
marks where-
at he shoot-
eth.

And we pray you, what may Paul the Bishop of Rome seem now to go about, which seeing all Princes occupied in great affairs, would steal (as he calleth it) a General Council? What other thing, than hereby to have some excuse to refuse a General Council hereafter, when time and place much better for the handling of matters of Religion shall be given unto Princes of Christendom? He will think he may then do as Princes now do; he will think it lawful not to come then, because Princes now come not. We pray God that we ever brawl not one with another in Religion; and whereas Dissention is amongst us, yet for our parts we do say, that we as much as men may, defend the better part, and be in the right way. We pray God that the world may enjoy peace and tranquillity, and that then we may have both time and place to settle Religion. For except first Princes agree, and so (war laid aside) seek peace, he loseth his labour that seeketh a General Council. If the Bishop of Rome may keep his Council while they thus be together, will not there be made many pretty Decrees? If they which would come if they had leisure be absent, and we which (though we safely might come) will not lose any part of our right, throw you in all our absence that the Bishop of Rome will not handle his Profit and Primacy well?

The Popes
craft in steal-
ing a General
Council.

D

Paul

The time and
place presently
picked of
the Pope.

What an He-
retick is
among the
Papi's.

The way to
Mantua long
and danger-
ous.

The falshood
of Popes no
new thing.

The hatred
of the Pope
against Eng-
land.

Paul, how can any of ours not refuse to come to Mantua, through so many perils, a City so far set from England, so nigh your friends, Kinsmen, and Adherents? Is he not unworthy of Life, that where he may tarry at home, will pass through so many Jeopardies of Life? Can he which cometh to Cremona, a City not far from Mantua, be safe if he be taken not to be the Bishop of Romes friend, that is, (as the common sort of deceived peop'le doth interpret) an Heretick? And if there come to Mantua such a number as would furnish a Generall Council, may not Mantua seem too little to receive so many Guests? But these two together, all the way from England to Mantua is full of just perils, and yet if ye escape all those, the very place where the Council is kept is more to be suspected than all the way. Do ye not know all Civil Laws to compel no man to come to any place, where he shall be in jeopardy of his Life all the way? We have no safe conduct to pass and return by the Dominions of other Princes. And if we had a safe conduct, yet should not we be charged with rashness, that where just error might have dissuaded us from such a journey, we committed our selves to such perils? Surely he that (the time being as it is, things standing as they do) will go from England to Mantua, may be careless if he lack not wit; sure of his arrival or return from thence he cannot be. For who doth not know how oft the Bishops of Rome have plaid false parts with them that in such matters have trusted to their safe conduct? How oft have they caused by their Perfidie such men to be slain, as they have promised by their faith before, that they should both come safe and go safe? These be no newes, Popes to be false, Popes to keep no promise neither with God nor Man; Popes contrary to their oaths, to defile their cruel hands with honest mens blood. But we tarry too long in things that as well touch all men as us.

We will (these now laid apart) turn our Oration unto such things, as privately touch both us King Henry the Eighth, and all Englishmen. Is it unknown to any man what mind Paul the Bishop of Rome beareth to us King Henry the Eighth, to us his Nobility, to us his Graces Bishops, and to us all his Graces Subjects, for the pulling down of his usurped Power and proud Primacy, for expelling of his usurped Jurisdiction, and for delivering of our Realm from his grievous bondage and pollage? Who seeth not him even enflamed with hatred against us, and the flames to be much greater than he can now keep them in? He is an open Enemy, he dissembleth no longer, provoking all men by all the means that he can, to endamage us and our Country. These three years he hath been oc-
cupied

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cupied in no one thing so much, as how he might stir up the Commons of England, and corrupting some with Money, some with Dignities. We let pass what Letters he hath written to Christian Princes; with how great fervent study he hath exhorted them to set upon us. The good Vicar of Christ by his doing sheweth how he understands the words of Christ; he thinketh he playeth Christ's part well, when he may say as Christ did, Non veni pacem mittere in terram, sed gladium; I come not to make peace in earth, but to send swords about: and not such swords as Christ would his to be armed withall, but such as cruel Manquellers abuse in the slaughter of their Neighbours. We marvel little though they ver'd other Princes oft, seeing they recompence our labour shewed to them with contumelies, our benefits with injuries.

The Pope bringeth not peace but the sword to the earth, otherwise than Christ did.

We will not rehearse here how many our Benefits bestowed upon Roman Bishops be lost; God be with such ungrate Charles, unworthy to be numbered amongst men; Certes such that a man may well doubt whether God or Man hath better cause to hate them. But that we have learned to owe good will even to them that immortally hate us, what could we wish them so evil but they have deserved much worse? We wish them this hurt alone, that God send them a better mind. God be thanked we have made all their seditious intents sooner to shew their great malice towards us, than to do us much hurt; yea, they have well taught us evermore to take good heed to our Enemies. Undoubtedly it were good going to Mantua, and to leave their whelps among the Lambs of our flock. When we be weary of our wealth, we will even do then as they would have us now do. No, no, as long as we shall see his heart so good towards us, we trust upon his warning we shall well provide to withstand his cruel malice. No let him now spend his deceits, when they can hurt none but such as would deceive and are deceived.

Benefits cast away upon the Pope.

They have by sundry ways made us privy how much we be bound to them. It went nigh their hearts to see the judgment of July, of Clement the seventh, of Paul the third, nothing to be regarded with us. They be afraid if we should sustain no hurt, because we justly rejected their Primacy, that other Princes would begin to do likewise, and to shake from their shoulders the heavy burthens that they so long have born, against Scripture, all right and reason. They be sorry to see the way stopped, that now their Tyranny, Avarice, and Pride can have no passage into England, which was wont to walk, to triumph, to tols, to trouble all men. They can scarce suffer Privileges, that is to say, Licence to spoil our Citizens, given them

The Popes curses not feared in England.

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them by our forefathers, and brought in by errorfull Custom, to be taken from them. They think it unlawful, that we require things lawfull of them that will be under no Laws. They think we do them wrong because we will not suffer them to do us wrong any longer. They see their Merchandize to be banished, to be forbidden; they see that we will buy no longer Chalk for Chace. They see that they have lost a fair fleece, vengeable sorry that they can dispatch no more Pardons, Dispensations, Cotquots, with the rest of their baggage and trumpery. England is no more a Babe; there is no man here but now he knoweth that they do foolishly that give Gold for Lead, more weight of that than they receive of this; they pass not, though Peter and Pauls faces be graven in the Lead to make fools fain. No, we be sorry that they should abuse holy Saints wilages to the beguiling of the world.

The Popes
trumpery
dispatched
out of Eng-
land.

Gold given
for Lead.

Gold grant.

The Popes
foundation to
all deceits.

The Pope
doth a few
things well,
that many
evils may the
better pro-
ceed.

The Pope
ought to be
called, and
not to call.

The Pope
again pro-
ceeds his
Council.

Surely, except God take away our right wits, not onely his Authority shall be driven out for ever, but his Name also shall be forgotten in England. We will from henceforth ask counsel from him and his when we list to be deceived, when we covet to be in error, when we desire to offend God, Truth and Honesty. If a man may guess the whole work by the foundation, where Deceits beginneth the work, can any other than Deceits be builded up on this foundation? What can you look for in this Mantuan Council, other than the oppression of Truth and true Religion? If there be any thing well done, think as every man doth, Bishops of Rome to be accustomed to do a few things well, that many evils may the better be taken at their hands. They when they list can yield some part of their right; they are content that some of their Decrees, some of their Errors and Abuses be reprehended, but they are never more to be feared than when they shew themselves most gentle. For if they grant a few they ask many, if they leave a little they will be sure of a great deal. Scarce a man may know how to handle himself, that he take no hurt at their hands, yea when they bless him; which seldom do good but for an intent to do evil. Certainly, come who so will to these Shops of Deceits, to these fairs of frauds, we will lose no part of our right in coming at his call, that ought to be called and not to call. We will neither come at Mantua, nor send thither for this matter, &c.

And so the King proceeding in the said his Protestation declareth moreover, how the Pope after he had summoned his Council first to be kept at Mantua, the thre and twentieth day of May, An. 1537, shortly after directed out another Bull to prorogate the same Council to the moneth of
Ac.

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November, pretending for his excuse that the Duke of Mantua would not suffer him to keep any Council there, unless he maintained a number of Warriours for defence of the Town. And therefore in his later Bull he prosequeth this Assembly, commanding Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbats, and other of the Spirituality, by the vertue of Obedience, and under pain of Cursing, to be present, but sheweth no place at all where he would be, nor whither they should come. And in very deed no great matter though no place were named; for as good a Council no where to be called, as where it could not be; and as well no place served him that intended no Council, as all places. And to say truth, much better no place to be named, than to name such as he purposed not to come to; for so should he break no promise which maketh none. And so going forward in his Oration, toward the later end he thus inferreth by his words of Protestation, saying:

No, we will the Pope and his Adherents to understand that which we have oft said, and now say, and ever will say. He nor his hath no Authority nor Jurisdiction in England; we give him no more than he hath, that is never a deal. That which he hath usurped against Gods Law, and extorteth by violence, we by good right take from him again. But he and his will say, we gave them a Primacy. We bear them well, we gave it you indeed; if you have Authority upon us as long as our Consent giveth it you, and you evermore will make your plea upon our Consent, then let it have even an end where it began; we consent no longer, your Authority must needs be gone. If we being deceived by false pretence of evil-alledged Scriptures, gave to you that ye ought to have refused, why may we not, our Error now perceived, and your Deceit espied, take it again? We Princes wrote our selves to be inferiour to Popes; as long as we thought so we obeyed them as our Superiours. Now we write not as we did, and therefore they have no great cause to marvel, if we hereafter do not as we did; both the Laws Civil, and also the Laws of God, be on our side. For a freeman born doth not lose his Liberty, no nor hurt the plea of his Liberty, though he write himself a Bondman.

Princes as they gave the Pope Primacy, so they take it from him again.

Again, if they lean to Custom, we send them to S. Cyprian, which saith, That Custom, if Truth be not joyned with it, is nothing but Erroris vetustas, that is, an old Error. Christ said, Ego sum via, veritas, & vita; I am the way, the truth, and the life: he never said, Ego sum consuetudo, I am the Custom. Wherefore seeing Custom serveth you on the one side, and Scripture us on the other, are ye able to match us? In how many places doth

I

Christ

The Popes
Title and his
Dignity agree
not together.

Best that eve-
ry Prince re-
form his own
Realm, and
tarry not for
General
Councils.

Christ monish you to seek no Primacy, to prefer your selves before nobody, no to be obedient unto all Creatures? Your old Title *Servus Servorum* evil agræth your new forged Dignity. But we will not tarry in matters so plain; we onely desire God, that Cæsar, and other Christian Princes, would agree upon some holy Council, where truth may be tried, and Religion set up, which hath ben hurt by nothing so sore, as by general not General Councils. Errors and Abuses grow too fast; *Erudimini qui iudicatis terram*, Get you Learning you that judge the earth; and excogitate some Remedy for these so many Diseases of the sick Church. They that be wisest do despair of a General Council; wherefore we think it now best that every Prince call a Council Provincial, and every Prince to redress his own Realm. We make all men priby what we think best to be done for the redress of Religion: if they like it, we doubt not but they will follow it, or some other better. Our trust is, that all Princes will so handle themselves in this behalf, that Princes may enjoy their own, and Priests of Rome content themselves with that they ought to have. Princes as we trust will no longer nourish wolves whelps, they will subscribe no more to Popish Pride, to the Papacy, &c.

Favour our doings, O Christian Princes, your Honour and ancient Majesty is restored. Remember there is nothing peetaining so much to a Princes Honour, as to set forth Truth, and to help Religion. Take you heed that their Deceits work not more mischief than your Vertue can do good, and everlasting war we would all Princes had with this Papacy. As for their Decrees, so hearken to them, that if in this Mantuan Assembly things be well done ye take them, but not as authorized by them, but that Truth, and things that maintain Religion, are to be taken at all mens hands. And even as we will admit things well made, so if there be any thing determined in prejudice of Truth, for the maintainance of their evil grounded Primacy, or that may hurt the Authority of Kings, we protest unto the whole world, that we neither allow it, nor will at any time allow it.

Ye have, Christian Readers, our mind concerning the General Council; we think you all see that Paul and his Cardinals, Bishops, Abbats, Monks, Friars, with the rest of the Rabblement, do nothing less intend, than the Knowledge of Truth. Ye see this is no time meet, Mantua no place meet for a General Council; and though they were both meet, yet except some other call this Council, you see that we neither need to come nor to send. You have heard how every Prince in his own Realm may quiet things

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things amiss. If there be any of you that can shew us a better way, we promise with all our hearty desire to do that that shall be thought best for the settling of Religion, and that we will leaue our owin Adbices if any man shew us better. Which mind of ours we most heartily pray God that gave it us, not onely to increase in us, but also to send it unto all Christian Princes, all Christian Prelats, and all Christian People.

Injunctions given by King *Henry VIII.* to the Clergy of his Realm.

IN the Name of God, Amen. In the Year of our Lord God 1536, and of the most Noble Reign of our Sovereign Lord Henry VIII. King of England and of France, Defender of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, and in the earth Supreme Head of the Church of England, the twenty eighth, &c.

I Thomas Cromwell Knight, Lord Cromwell, Keeper of the Pryvy Seal of our said Sovereign Lord the King, and Vicegerent to the same; for and concerning all his Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical within this Realm, to the glory of Almighty God, to the Kings Highness Honour, the publick weal of this Realm, and increase of Vertue in the same, have appointed and assigned these Injunctions ensuing, to be kept and obserbed of the Dean, Parsons, Vicars, Curats, and Stipendaries, resident or having Cure of Souls, or any other Spiritual Administration within this Deanry, under the Pains hereafter limited and appointed.

THE first is, that the Dean, Parsons, Vicars, and other having Cure of Souls any where within this Deanry, shall faithfully keep and obserbe, and as far as in them may lie, shall cause to be kept and obserbed of all other, all and singular Laws and Statutes of this Realm, made for the abolishing and extirpation of the Bishop of Romes pretended and usurped Power and Jurisdiction within this Realm, and for the establishment and confirmation of the Kings Authority and Jurisdiction within the same, as of the Supreme Head of the Church of England, and shall to the uttermost of their wit, knowledge,

Confirmation
of the Kings
Supremacy.

and

Against the
Popes Pri-
macy.

and Learning, purely, sincerely, and without any colour or dissimulation, declare, manifest, and open, by the space of one quarter of a year now next ensuing, once every Sunday, and after at the least twice every quarter of a year, in their Sermons and other Collations, that the Bishop of Romes Usurped Power and Jurisdiction, having no establishment nor ground by the Law of God, was for most just causes taken away and abolished, and that therefore they owe unto him no manner of Obedience or Subjection, and that the Kings Power is within his Dominion the highest Potentate and Power under God, to whom all men within the same Dominion, by Gods commandment owe most Loyalty and Obedience, afore and above all other Potentates in earth.

Item, whereas certain Articles were lately devised and put forth by the Kings Highness Authority, and condescended unto by the Prelats and Clergy of this his Realm in Convocation, (whereof part were necessary to be holden and believed for our Salvation, and the other part do concern and touch certain laudable Ceremonies, Rights, and usages of the Church, meet and convenient to be kept and used for a decent and politick order in the same) the said Dean, Parsons, Vicars, and other Curats, shall so open and declare, in their Sermons and other Collations, the said Articles unto them that be under their Cure, that they may plainly know and discern which of them be necessary to be believed and observed for their Salvation, and which be not necessary, but onely do concern the decent and politick order of the said Church, according to such commandment and admonition as hath been given unto them heretofore by the Authority of the Kings Highness in that behalf.

The Kings Articles to be read to the people.

Moreover, that they shall declare unto all such as be under their Cure, the Articles likewise devised, put forth, and authorized of late, for and concerning the abrogating of certain superstitious Holydays, according to the effect and purport of the same Articles, and persuade their Parishioners to keep and observe the same inviolably, as things wholesome, provided, decreed, and established by the common Consent and publick Authority, for the Commonwealths commodity and profit of all this Realm.

Images abolished.

Besides this, to the intent that all Superstition and Hypocrisie crept into divers mens hearts may vanish away, they shall not set forth or extoll any Images, Reliques, or Miracles, for any superstition or lucre, nor allure the people

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ple by any intreatments to Pilgrimages of any Saints, Pilgrimages
forbidden. otherwise than is permitted in the Articles lately put forth by the Authority of the Kings Majesty, and condescended unto by the Prelats and Clergy of this his Realm in Convocation, as though it were proper or peculiar to that Saint to give this Commodity or that; seeing all Goodness, Health, and Grace, ought to be both looked and asked for onely of God, as of the very Author of the same, and of none other, for without him it cannot be given; but they shall exhort as well their Parishioners as other Pilgrims, that they do rather apply themselves to the keeping of Gods Commandments, and the fulfilling of his works of Charity; persuading them that they shall please God more by the true exercise of their bodily Labour, Trade, or Occupation, and providing for their families, than if they went about to the said Pilgrimages; and it shall profit more their Souls health, if they do bestow that on the poor and needy, which they would have bestowed upon the said Images or Reliques.

Also in the same their Sermons and other Collations, the Parsons, Vicars, and other Curats aforesaid, shall diligently admonish the fathers and Mothers, Masters and Governours of Youth, being within their Cure, to teach or cause to be taught their Children and Servants, even from their Infancy, the Pater noster, the Articles of our faith, and the Ten Commandments in their Mother Tongue, and the same so taught shall cause the said Youth oft to repeat and understand. And to the intent this may be the more easily done, the said Curats shall in their Sermons deliberately and plainly recite of the said Pater noster, Articles, or Commandments, one Clause or Article one day, and another another day, till the whole be taught and learned by little and little, and shall deliver the same in writing, or shew where printed Books containing the same be to be sold to them that can read, or will desire the same; and thereto that the said fathers and Mothers, Masters and Governours, do bestow their Children and Servants, even from their Childhood, either to Learning, or to some honest Exercise, Occupation, or Husbandry: exhorting, counselling, and by all the ways and means they may, as well in their said Sermons and Collations, as otherwise, the said fathers, Mothers, Masters, and other Governours, being under their cure and charge, diligently to provide and foresee, that the said Youth be in no manner wise kept or brought up in idleness, lest at any time afterward they be driven, for lack of some Mystery or Occupation to live by, to fall to begging, stealing, or some other

Prayers in
the Mother
Tongue.

For bringing
up of Youth
in some Art
or Occupati-
on.

unthriftines; forasmuch as we may daily see, through sloth and idleness divers valiant men fall, some to begging, some to theft and murder, which after brought to calamity and misery, impute a great part thereof to their friends and Governours, which suffered them to be brought up so idly in their Youth; where if they had been brought up and educated in some good Literature, Occupation or Mystery, they should (being Rulers of their own families) have profited as well themselves as divers other persons, to the great commodity and ornament of the Commonweal.

Placing of
good Vicars
and Curats.

Also that the said Parsons, Vicars, and other Curats, shall diligently provide, that the Sacraments and Sacramentals be duly and reverently ministered in their Parishes. And if at any time it happen them, either in any of the cases expressed in the Statutes of this Realm, or of special Licence given by the Kings Majesty, to be absent from their Benefices, they shall leave their Cure not to a rude and unlearned person, but to an honest, well learned, and expert Curat, that may teach the rude and unlearned of their Cure wholesome Doctrine, and reduce them to the right way, that they do not erre; and always let them see, that neither they nor their Vicars do seek more their own profit, promotion, or advantage, than the profit of the Souls that they have under their Cure, or the glory of God.

Every Parish
to provide
a Bible in
English.

Item, that every Parson or Proprietary of any Parish Church within this Realm, shall on this side the feast of S. Peter ad vincula next coming, provide a Book of the whole Bible both in Latin and also in English, and lay the same in the Quire, for every man that will to look and read thereon, and shall discourage no man from the reading of any part of the Bible, either in Latin or English, but rather to comfort, exhort, and monish every man to read the same as the very Word of God, and the spiritual food of mans Soul, whereby they may the better know their Duties to God, to their Sovereign Lord the King, and their Neighbour; ever gently and charitably exhorting them, that using a sober and modest behaviour in the reading and inquisition of the true sense of the same, they do in no wise stiffly or eagerly contend or strive one with another about the same, but refer the declaration of those places that be in controversie, to the judgment of them that be better learned.

Priests not to
haunt Ale-
houses.

Also the said Dean, Parsons, Vicars, Curats, and other Priests, shall in no wise at any unlawful time, nor for
any

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any other cause than for their honest necessity, haunt or resort to any Taverns or Alehouses, and after their Dinner and Supper they shall not give themselves to drinking or riot, spending their time idly by day or by night, at Tables or Cards playing, or any other unlawful Game; but at such times as they shall have such leisure, they shall read or hear somewhat of holy Scripture, or shall occupy themselves with some honest Exercise, and that they always do those things that appertain to good congruence and honesty, with profit of the Commonweal, having always in mind that they ought to excell all other in purity of life, and should be example to all other to live well and Christianly.

Furthermore, because the goods of the Church are called the goods of the poor, and in these days nothing is less safe than the poor to be sustained with the same, all Parsons, Vicars, Prebendaries, and other beneficed men within this Deanry, not being resident upon their Benefices, which may dispend yearly twenty pounds or above, either within this Deanry, or elsewhere, shall distribute hereafter yearly amongst their poor Parishioners or other Inhabitants there, in the presence of the Churchwardens, or some other honest men of the Parish, the fortieth part of the Fruits and Revenues of their said Benefices, lest they be worthily noted of Ingratitude, which reserving so many parts to themselves, cannot vouchsafe to impart the fortieth portion thereof amongst the poor people of that Parish that is so fruitful and profitable unto them.

Parsons not
resident to
pay the 40th.
part to their
Parishes.

And to the intent that learned men may hereafter spring the more, for the executing of the said premises, every Parson, Vicar, Clerk, or beneficed man within this Deanry, yearly to spend in Benefices or other Promotions of the Church, an hundred pounds, shall give competent Exhibition on to one Scholar; and for as many hundred pounds more as he may dispend, to so many Scholars more shall give like Exhibition in the University of Oxford or Cambridge, or some Grammar School; which after they have profited in good Learning, may be Partners of their Patrons Cure and Charge, as well in Preaching, as otherwise in the execution of their Offices, or may when need shall be otherwise profit the Commonwealth with their counsel and wisdom.

Every beneficed man
worth 100 l.
to find a Scholar
at the
University.

Also that all Parsons, Vicars, and Clerks, having Churches, Chapels, or Mansions within this Deanry, shall bestow yearly hereafter upon the same Mansions or Chan-

Beneficed
men to main-
tain their
Mansions.

cels

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cels of their Churches being in decay, the fifth part of those their Benefices, till they shall be fully repaired, and the same so repaired they shall always keep and maintain in good estate.

All which and singular Injunctions shall be indiolably observed of the said Dean, Parsons, Vicars, Curats, Stipendaries, and other Clerks, and beneficed men, under pain of Suspension, and Sequestration of the Fruits of their Benefices, untill they have done their duties according to these Injunctions.

Post-

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Postscript.

C*hristian Reader, Who hast perused and well weighed this Protestation, thou dost see therein the Frauds, Pride, Avarice, Treacheries, Cruelties, Enmity to God and Christ, and his Truth and People, with many other notorious Enormities of the Pope and his Shaveling Priests and Clergy, clearly and openly discovered, detected, detested and renounced, by so great a King. He pronounces them to be open Enemies to Christ himself, and to carry in their Breasts an immortal Hatred to his Truth. He Proclaimeth to all Christian Princes and People the miserable Tragedies; which under pretence of Unity and Concord, they have brought into Christendom, and that they have troubled all Christian Realms with Seditions, under plausible pretences of Peace. That in all their Councils and Actings touching Religion, the only Marks they have shot at, was Lucre, Money and Gains; yea that they sought their own Profit, with the Slaughter of the Truth, and were infinitely more willing that the greatest Injury should be done to the Gospel, than that their Authority, that is to say, their Arrogant Impudence, should suffer the least Diminution. That their usual practice is, to defile their cruel Hands with honest Mens Blood, and that contrary to their Oaths. He further declares, That this holy Vicar was so inflamed with Hatred against the King and Kingdom, for pulling down his Usurped Power, and Proud Primacy, for expelling his Usurped Jurisdiction, for rejecting his False and Heretical Doctrine, and delivering this Realm from his grievous Bondage and Polage; that He sought by all ways to endamage both King and People; and by Enemies at Home and Princes Abroad, to stir up Troubles and Commotions. Upon which sufficient Grounds, and for which just Causes, he thus resolves, saying, Surely except God take away our right Wits, not only his Authority, to wit the Popes, shall be driven out for Ever, but his Name also shall shortly be forgotten in England. And again, We will ha' the Pope and his Adherents to understand that which we have oft said, and now say, and ever will say, He nor His hath no Authority or Jurisdiction in England. That which he hath usurped against Gods Law, and extorted by Violence, We by good right take from him again. And He exhorts all Christian Princes to favour and follow his Godly and Just Proceedings.*

Thus did God of his Infinite Goodness raise up this Great and Wise King to root out the Pope's Usurped Authority, and False Religion also, in a great measure, out of *England*; and the Lord grant that these Intolerable and Unsupportable Evils may be kept

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out of it for ever. For without doubt, that Curse of God which *Joshua* pronounced against him that should *Rebuild Jericho*, which was destroyed by the Word and Power of God, according as it is written, *Joshua 6. 26. And Joshua adjured them at that time, saying, Cursed be the Man before the Lord that riseth up and Buildeth this City Jericho*, which was accordingly fulfilled in *Hiel the Bethelite* in the days of *Ahab*. I am very well assured, that that, and a greater Curse will be the Portion of that Man from the Lord, that shall rise up and Rebuild this Spiritual *Babylon* again in *England*, to wit, the *Antichristian Church*, which the Word and Power of God hath destroyed, and now for several happy Years kept out of this Nation. *Et nunc Reges intelligite, eradicimini qui Fudicatis terram. Be wise now therefore O Ye Kings, be instructed Ye that judge the Earth.*

And Oh ye People, be not as the Horse and Mule that have no Understanding, but as Men at least, and (if it may be) as Christians: consider and weigh well with your selves the great and inexplicable Evils that the poor Nation now greans under, none can tell for how long; some of which are these that follow, and greater cannot be told.

1. The Suppressing the Glorious Light of the Gospel, and Banning it out of Publique View; the silencing the Grace of Christs own Lips, and causing the Joyful Sound that Proclaims the Acceptable Year of the Lord, to cease out of our Borders. And this is the Evil of Evils, and the Misery of Miseries which brings all other Evils and Miseries along with it; yea this shuts up the Kingdom of Heaven from the World, and sets Hell wide open, for all men to run headlong into it, as we see it done this day. This excludes the Love, Mercy and Goodness of God from the World, as much as possibly it can, and brings in his Wrath and heavy Displeasure to waste and consume it; of which we have had the sad and most exquisite Experience, now alas! for several years together. For since the Gospel, under several Mulcts and Penalties, hath been forbidden to be Preach'd, how many Manifestations of Gods Just Anger have we seen in many strange and unusual Prodigies, in the Heavens, in the Earth, in the Waters, &c. being loud Warnings of the Wrath to come. What a grievous and desolating Plague, the Scourge of the Almighty, hath destroyed Thoulands and Ten Thoulands in that late great City, and in many other parts of the Nation, the like whereunto hath not been heretofore? What a dreadful Conflagration hath devoured that Famous and Incomparable City, the Head and Glory of these Nations, and laid it in Ashes and Ruines like *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*? which Cities were set on Fire from Heaven, but this from Hell, by the Locusts of the Bottomless Pit, the Emissaries of the Pope and his Clergy, which Vermin have swarmed in this Nation, since the removal of the Gospel.

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And this provoking Sin, is not so much the Sin of the People, as of the Powers of the Nation, who as it were, of very Malice, have openly renounced *Christ*, and desired *Barabbas* to be given to them in his stead; they have rejected the Sweet and Meek Gospel of *Christ*, and have desired to be given to them the Cruel and Murderous Religion of *Antichrist*; a Religion written in Red Letters, even in Letters of Blood; for it hath shed the blood of innumerable Saints and Martyrs in the several Ages, since *Antichrist* first lift up his Head out of Hell into this World; seducing the Powers of the World to take part with him in this bloody Work. This Religion, or rather this Iniquity in the Suburbs of it, we see Erected already, and now the great City thereof, is ready to be built again; and this Kingdom of Darknes could never have been founded but in the absence of the Light, which they have violently chased away. And this one thing carries weight in it, that they who tolerate *Papery* to take its ease among us, and to lengthen its Cords, and to strengthen its Stakes, though it be directly against *Christ*, and they who tolerate the open exercise of the *Jewish* Religion, which denies and blasphemes *Christ*, will by no means suffer nor endure the true and sincere Gospel of *Christ's* Kingdom to be published by any, but under great Penalties. Whereby they declare, that they are of one Council and Work with Satan, who hath with all his Subtily and Cruelty fought against *Christ* and his Gospel, from the first day of their Heavenly Birth hitherto.

This is the first and greater Evil the Nation mourns and groans under, but this is not all.

For *Secondly*, From hence follows the greatest and deepest ignorance of God and *Christ* that can be, and of all their unsearchable Riches which the Gospel hath discovered to the World. The greatest ignorance of the Law and of the Gospel, of Sin and of Righteousness, of Salvation and Damnation, of Heaven and Hell; in a word, the grossest ignorance of all the Revealed Truths of God, which concern us either to obtain Eternal Life, or to avoid Endless Death. So that in *India* and *Ethiopia*, in *Calno* and *Carchemish*, in *Pathros* and *Cush*, in *Mesich* and the Tents of *Kedar*, there is not greater ignorance of *Christ* and his Gospel, and of the way of Salvation, to be found than in many places, and among many People in *England*; the true report that may be given of it is even incredible. And would it not grievously affect any *Christian* Mans heart to behold so many thousands of Children in this Nation, brought up without any right instruction in the *Christian* Religion? Oh consider, what a Profane and Heathenish Nation this must necessarily become in a few years! for, what the Children and Youths now are, the Common-Wealth will be in twenty or thirty Years. And what a brutish and beast-like Generation will then People be in this Land, if the Lord take not care of this matter in the mean time. When few will be found
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who shall know any more of Christs Name than what may capacitate them to blaspheme it, or of his most Precious Death and Crucifying, more than to serve them to Swear by his Bloud and Wounds. For the glorious Sun of Divine Knowledge, is three quarters Eclipsed already: the Good Lord prevent the Total Eclipse thereof, by sending forth again Ministers of his own choosing and anointing, to feed his People with true Knowledge and Understanding.

Thirdly, The third Misery we sigh under, is the overflowing of Iniquity like the mighty Waves of the Sea. Never was there such a Deluge of Sin seen upon Earth, as now covers the Face of the Nation; this is even become the covering of all Flesh. All sorts of People, of High and Low Degree, whether Secular or Ecclesiastical, are all drencht and dyed in it; in such sort, that Men live in this World in the manifest likeness of the Devil, and if Satan himself were Incarnate, you could not easily discern one from the other. They set their Faces against Heaven, and call out upon God to Damn them, Soul and Body. So Divelish they are, that they would fain be tormented before their time, and do oftentimes provoke Hell to swallow them up; for because they can be no liker to the Devil in this World, they would hasten to Hell that there they may be fully like him. Oh Monsters of Mankind! Oh the true Seed of the Serpent! the right *Generation of Vipers!* Ye have been fore-warn'd by God to flee from the Wrath to come, but who hath warn'd you to flee unto it? Who among the remote Nations would believe the report of all your Villanies? The very rehearal of them would put them into Pangs, and the bare hearing of them into Tremblings: their Sayings and Doings are such, as are not fit to be mentioned or recited among Men, but only in the midst of Devils. For who without horrible fear, could either repeat or hear their desperate Blasphemies against God himself, glorious in Holiness, and against our Lord Jesus Christ, (whom God hath made his First-Born, *Higher than the Kings of the Earth*; and when he brought him into the World, he said, *Let all the Angels Worship Him*) and against the Holy Spirit (against whom *whoever speaks a word, it shall never be forgiven him*) against the blessed Gospel the great and onely Power of God to Salvation) against the Kingdom of God on Earth, and against them that dwell in Heaven. Therefore, O Lord, forgive them not.

For their Vine is as the Vine of Sodom, and of the Fields of Gomorrah, their Grapes are Grapes of Gall, their Clusters are bitter, their Wine is the Poyson of Dragons, and the cruel Venome of Asps. The shew of their Countenance doth witness against them, and they declare their Sin more than Sodom, they hide it not, they boast of it, and every Man is famous as he can do most wickedly. Wo unto their Souls, for they have rewarded evil against themselves.

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For therefore *Hell* hath enlarged her self, and opened her Mouth without measure, and their Glory, and their Multitude, and their Pomp, and he that rejoiceth shall soon descend into it. This their Day approacheth, it comes, it makes hast, when they shall perish for ever like their own Dung, and they that have seen them shall say, where are they?

And therefore how ye Profane Ones, for the Day of the Lord is at hand, it shall come as a Destruction from the Almighty: then shall your Wicked Hands fall down, and your Proud Hearts melt, and you shall be sorely afraid; Pangs and Sorrow shall take hold on you, even Pangs as of a Woman in Travel: and when ye shall look to one another ye shall be amazed at one another, and your faces shall alter and change colour as Flames. For behold the Day of the Lord cometh cruel, both with Wrath and fierce Anger, to lay the Land desolate for your sakes; and he shall destroy the Sinners thereof out of it. And he will punish the World for their evil, and the Wicked for their wickedness, he will make the Arrogancy of the Proud Ones to cease, and will lay low the Haughtiness of the Terrible Ones. In that day Sodom and Gomorrah shall rise up in judgment against you, and it shall be more tolerable for them than for you, O Ye Profane Ones of England!

These Spiritual Evils press us fore; As for our Outward Evils; they are well known and felt by All, of all sorts; and though I should be silent in the rehearsing them, they speak forth themselves. They are a fore: not to be touched; yet if no hand should touch them, how should they be healed? Wherefore I will in the Name and Fear of God make mention of one of them, and of such an one as briefly comprehends all the rest.

And this is, The strange and dismal Withering, Wasting, Languishing and Dying Condition of Poor England, whose common Welfare no Man now looks after or regards. Oh England! where are now thy Wise Men? where are thy Pilots? where are thy Physicians? where are thy Counsellors? where are thy Helpers? where are they that pity thee, and say, *Alas, Alas Poor England!* thy Husband hath rejected thee, as a Wife of Whoredoms, and thou art become a Widow of Sorrows: thou art left as a Cottage in a Vineyard; as a Lodge in a Garden of Cucumbers, as a Besieged City. Thy bruise is incurable, and thy wound is grievous. There is none left to plead thy Cause, that thou mightest be bound up: thou hast no healing Medicines left thee; Fear and a Snare and the Pit are upon thee, and to whom wilt thou stretch forth thy hands, to whom wilt thou lift up thy Voice for help?

Thou wast lately a Rich and Flourishing Kingdom, and for thy Plenty, Wealth and Glory wast both the Wonder and Envy of the World: Whilst thou didst enjoy the Presence of God, through his Word and Ordinances; whilst Iniquity was banish'd out of Publique View; whilst Holiness and Righteousness, Justice and Judgment, Truth and Equity had their chief place in thee, Thou wast a People saved by the Lord, Honoured by the Lord, Exalted,

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Magnified, Protected by the Lord. *Thou wast the Head and not the Tail, even the Glory of Kingdoms and Nations.* Our Land then, was blessed with the precious things of Heaven, with the dew and the deep that coucheth beneath, with the precious fruits brought forth by the Sun, and with the precious things put forth by the Moon, with the precious things of the Earth, and the Fulness thereof. We had plenty of Gold, and of Jewels of fine Gold; and our Houses were stored with Silver; our Barns and Store-houses were replenished, and we were plenteous in Goods; in the fruit of our Cattel, and in the fruit of our Ground. Our Sons were as Plants grown up in their Youth, our Daughters as polisht Pillars; our Oxen were strong to labour, and our Sheep brought forth Thousands: we did eat our Bread with joy, and drank our Wine with a merry heart, because God accepted our Works. Yea then the First-Born of the Poor did feed, and the Needy did ly down in Safety; for there was no breaking in nor going out, nor complaining in our Streets. We were a happy People that were in such a case, yea much more happy, because God was our Lord.

And thou O *London*, (for my heart is towards thee, and I am distressed for thee O *London*, and pained at the very heart) Thou wast a Joyous City, whose Antiquity was of Ancient Days; thou wast the Crowning City, whose Merchants were Princes, whose Traffiquers were the Honourable of the Earth: by thy great Wisdom, and by thy Traffique thou didst get thee Riches, and thou didst get Gold and Silver into thy Treasuries. The Harvest of the River was thy Revenue, and thou wast the Mart of Nations. All Nations emptied their Delicacies into thy Bosom, and poured forth their pleasant things into thy Lap. And when thy Wares went forth out of thy Seas, thou filledst many People, thou didst enrich the Kings of the Earth with the multitude of thy Riches, and of thy Merchandise. Thou wast also the Mountain of God, thou hadst, in the midst of thee, the stones of Fire. Thou wast the chief High-Place, the Ministers of Jesus were dear to thee, and thy Arms were always open to embrace them; thou didst frequent the Solemn Assemblies of the Saints, with the Multitude of them that kept right Holy-Day. The Out-casts of Christ were wont to dwell with thee, and thou wast a Covert to them from the face of the Spoiler. Many Fatherless Children had harbour and succour in thee, and thou wast a Husband to the Widows. It was thy Meat and Drink to feed the hungry, and to cloath the naked, and to visit the Prisoners of Jesus Christ. Thou wast as the Vine-tree amongst the Trees of the Forest, Verily a Noble Vine; But why hast thou so suddenly turned into the Degenerate Plant of a Strange Vine? Why of a right Seed did you so easily become strange Children, whose Mouth talketh Vanity, and your Right Hand is a Right Hand of Falshood? Why didst thou join thy self with the Wicked, and help the Ungodly? Why didst thou

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thou love them that hate the Lord, and didst turn thy heart and hand against them that love the Lord? Thou didst reject his Ministers: thou didst persecute his People; thou didst hunt the steps of the Righteous that they could not go in thy Streets; thou didst hawll to Prison the Assemblies of the Saints; and didst make havock of the Church of Christ till there was no remedy.

For when the Lord saw this he was angry, for he looked for Grapes from you, and you brought forth wild Grapes; he looked for Judgment from you, but behold Oppression! for Righteousness, but behold a Cry! *Wherefore he bent his Bow against thee like an Enemy, He stood with his Right Hand like an Adversary.* He sent a Fire into the midst of thee that could not be quenched, and it hath devoured thee, and brought thee to Ashes on the Earth, in the sight of all them that beheld thee. He hath swallowed up thy Habitations, he hath thrown down in his Wrath your pleasant Dwellings, your stately and beautiful Buildings. He sent into thee treacherous Dealers to deal treacherously with thee, and Spoilers to spoil thee; whilst thou wast become a silly Dove without heart. He hath brought upon thee the days that have not come on thee since thou wast a City; He hath stained the Pride of thy Glory, and brought into contempt all thy Honourable Persons: they that did feed delicately were left desolate in the Streets; they that were brought up in Silks and Scarlet embraced Dunghills: they that dwelt in well built Houses were glad to shelter themselves in Booths, and to crowd their heads in desolate places; they are come down from their Glory to sit in Dust. For thy filthiness was found in thy Skirts, therefore thou wast brought down wonderfully. How are thy Merchandise of Gold and Silver, and Precious Stones, and of Pearl, and of fine Linnen, and Purple and Silk, thy brodered Works, thy Chests of rich Apparel, thy Spices and Odors, thy Vessels of precious Wood, of Brasse and Iron, and Marble; thy Wine and Oil, thy stately Buildings and beautiful Structures of many Generations, how in three or four days are they all brought to nothing? *London*, the Glory of the Kingdom, the Beauty of *England's* Excellency, is become as when God overthrew *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*: and is now at present, a place for doleful Creatures, for Owls to dwell in, and for Satyrs to dance in, and for Wild Beasts to cry among the desolate Houses, and Dragons in their Dwellings. For thou art swept with the Besom of Destruction; and the Line of Emptiness is stretched out upon thee; because thou didst reject the Word of the Lord, and knewest not the day of thy Visitation.

How art thou brought down, which wast inhabited by Seafaring Men? the renowned City which wast strong at Sea? and thy Inhabitants did cause terrour to all Nations. All that knew thee formerly are astonished at thee; thou art become a Terror to them that see thee, and they that hear of thee are pained for thee. I was bowed down at the hearing of it, I was dismayed at the seeing

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ing of it. *O Lord behold my affliction, for the Enemy hath magnified himself: see and consider, for I am become Prey.* Our Enemies say, This, this is the Day we have looked for; we have found it, we have seen it. This Day shall do that which the *Fifth of November* could not do; now shall we see our desire upon them; for the Strength of the *Protestant* Interest is broken; we have broken the Head of it, and now shall we rase it, to the very foundation of it. But *O Lord* thou hast seen my wrong, judge thou my Cause. Thou hast seen all their Vengeance, and all their imaginations against me; thou knowest the Contrivers, the Abettors, the Incouragers, the Actors, the Favourers of this Hellish Mischief; and all those that rejoyce in it: Give unto them All Sorrow of Heart, thy Curse unto them. Persecute and destroy them in Anger, from under the Heavens of the Lord. And let all the People say *Amen*.

But now I must shake hands with thee *O London* in thy Dust and Ashes, for there is hope in this thy End. And I must turn my self back again to *England*, the Land of my Nativity, and take up a Lamentation for it. *O England*, what Nation was like unto thee from the Rising of the Sun to the Setting thereof? thou wast a People satisfied with favour, and full with the Blessings of the Lord, but art now suddenly become a poor and peeled People, meeted out and trodden down. Thou art smitten with a perpetual stroke in anger, by a heavy hand: thou art oppressed, spoyled and crushed in pieces evermore, and there is no man to save thee. For God hath remembred our Iniquities against us, and set our sins in the light of his Countenance. For by Lying, and Swearing, and Oppressing, and Slaying, and Drinking, and Whoring and Blaspheming, &c. the Land is defiled, under the Inhabitants thereof. We have forsaken the Laws of God, changed the Ordinances of Christ, and broken the Everlasting Covenant; and therefore hath the Curse devoured us. Our Labours yield us no Profit: our Plowing, Sowing and Reaping eats up the Husband-Man: our Trade is every where decayed: our Gold and Silver are exhausted and drained away: our Estates are impoverished and wasted: the Abundance we had gotten and laid up, is departed: our Exactions and Taxes are heavy upon us, so that we eat our Bread with sorrow, and drink with sighing; for they have found out our Riches as a Nest; and as one gathereth Eggs that are left, so have they gathered the Substance of the Nation, and there was none that durst move the Wing, or open the Mouth to the People. We are brought so low that we have forgotten Prosperity; but we daily mourn and fade away; for we are filled with bitterness, and made drunk with Wormwood. For our Wise Counsellors are become Fools, Understanding is perished from them: our Princes are rebellious, and Companions of Thieves; they are Riotous Persons that eat not for Strength but for Drunkenness. Our Counsellors take Counsel, but not of God, but against him;

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him. our Judges abhor true Judgment, and pervert all Equity; they turn Judgment into Gall, and the fruit of Righteousness into Hemlock: they justify the Wicked for a Reward, and take away the righteousness of the Righteous from him. Our Priests, of all Titles and Degrees, are like roaring Lions in the midst of us, ravening the Prey; they rob the Purses of Men; they imprison their Bodies; they devour their Souls: they live in Rioting and Drunkenness, they commit Adultery, and speak Lyes: they strengthen the hands of Evil Doers, that none doth return from his Wickedness. Our People are foolish and unwise, a company of treacherous Men, that ly in wait for precious Souls; they are perverse Children, who have forsaken the Law of the Lord, and have said to the Holy One of *Israel*, *Depart from us*. Wherefore we are become a base Kingdom, because we have rejected all righteousness; yea, the basest of Kingdoms, because we have Apostatized from the Truth. Of a Pleasant and Joyful Land, we are become a Land of Trouble and Anguish; where is the Young and Old Lion, the Viper and fiery flying Serpent. We are become a Mingled People, Strangers devour us in our presence; they devour our Strength, they swallow up our Riches, they eat up our Bread; yea they destroy us, our Cities and Towns, and there is none to reprove them. We who were the chief of Nations, the Princess of Provinces, who when we spake there was trembling to the ends of the Earth, are now become weak and contemptible; because our Rock hath sold us, and the Lord hath shut us up. Therefore the Pomp of our Strength hath ceased, and our Spirit fails in the midst of us. So that we are shamefully brought down, by the least and lowest of the Nations: who have subdued our Naval Power; taken, burnt and spoiled our Royal Ships, the Wall and Bulwark of our Nation: fought us in our own Bowels; triumphed over us in our own River; blocked up the Passage of our chief City; stopped all intercourse of Trade; made a Spoil of our Riches, and a Prey of our Merchandise; hindered and deprived us of all our pleasant things; bereaved us of several of our Rich and Advantageous Plantations; brought us down to their feet, humbly to beg their favour, and have made us a Reproach, a Proverb and a Hissing to all Nations. *○ England* who shall bewail thee? What Lamentations shall we take up for thee? Oh that thou wert sensible of thy Stroke and couldst bewail thy self, for thou hast sinned grievously, therefore art thou cast out of the Mountain of the Lord, thou art cast to the ground, and laid before Kings and Nations, that they may behold thee. This is the end of the Children of Pride; for they that exalt themselves shall be made Low. And therefore *talk no more so exceeding proudly, let not Arrogance come out of your Mouth again, for God is a God of Judgment, and by him actions are weighed. The Adversaries of the Lord shall be broken in pieces: out of Heaven shall he thunder upon them, and therefore let not the Rebels exalt themselves.*

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Thus have I rehearsed the Evils we ly under ; and now I shall represent some of the Great and Deadly Dangers that we are in.

And one is, to have the Nation quite overrun with *Popery*, and to have the *Popes Throne of Iniquity* new erected amongst us. And are there not swarms of *Priests* and *Jesuits* earnestly at work to bring this to pass ? they having emptied their *Popish Cloysters* and *Monasteries* from beyond Sea into *England*, to promote their *Catholique Design* here. And they knowing who stands at their right hand, have done it with great boldness, and with too great success, For they have perverted not only very many of the Common People, but some Nobility also, and many Gentry. And they have two great Engines to advance their design, to wit, on the one hand Safety, on the other Danger ; on the one hand Promotion, on the other Destruction ; on the one hand Life, on the other Death ; with the one of them they allure, with the other they terrifie ; with the one they draw whom they can, with the other they drive whom they cannot draw. And these Engines are of that force, that thereby they have conquered many weak, sinful and unstable Souls, yea and have prevailed with some Persons of Honour and Quality, to send their Sons to Monasteries, and their Daughters to Nunneries beyond Sea, to be trained up in their Damnable Religion there, till better provision can be made for them here ; of which they now are in full hopes.

And now think with your selves, and consider well, O my Dear *Protestant* Country-Men, how could you endure to see the *Pope* Worshipp'd here again in *England*, for a God on Earth ? to see him set his proud Foot on the Neck of your King ? to see your King a Tributary to the *Pope*, and to stand or fall at his base pleasure ? how could you indure to be forced to acknowledge his sinful and foolish Decrees to be equal to the Holy Word of God ? and to own his little Wafer, or piece of Bread, for the very Natural Body and Bloud of Christ which was crucified and shed on the Cross ? how could you indure to have your throats stretched so wide, as to swallow down only this one Abomination of his, which is more vast and rude than the first Chaos ? how could you indure to see new Roods erected in every Parish Church ? and to bow your selves down and worship Stocks and Stones, Crucifixes and Images, instead of the True and Living God ? how could you frame your selves to Auricular Confession, and to rehearse or enumerate all your sins in a Priests Ear, who himself stands in need of Forgiveness more than you, being a greater Sinner ? how could you indure that their lusty Priests should defile your Wives and Daughters, they being prohibited Wives of their own ; and so should drive again a General Trade of Whoredom in the Nation, as they have been wont to do formerly ? how could you submit your selves to their *Popish* Pennance, and to travel their *Popish* Pilgrimages, to their feigned Saints and ridiculous Reliques ?
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how could you bear the severity of their Ecclesiastical Courts and Censures, and to be pronounced Heretiques by those who are themselves the greatest Heretiques in the World? how could You Noblemen and Gentlemen, who have your Estates, or part of them, in Abbey and Church-Lands, as they were called, be content to have them taken away from You and your Posterity, and given back again to maintain *Abbots, Monks, Fryers, Nuns* and such kind of *Papish Vermin* and *Locusts*, which, if once admitted, will eat up again every green thing in the Land? And let me tell you, that all these Estates of yours, they do not only promise to themselves, but verily expect them. Yea farther, how could you indure to have your loving Husbands taken from your Heads, and your dear Wives torn out of your Bosoms; your sweet Children dragg'd out of your Houses, your near Relations and friendly Neighbours hawled and hurried into Prisons and Dungeons, and there to be wracked, starved, tormented, and at last (if they live to it) to be put alive into the flames of Fire, there to be burnt and consumed to Ashes? and that only because they sincerely cleave to Christ and his Gospel, and will not adhere to *Antichrist*, nor receive his Mark, nor do his Hellish Drudgery? how could you indure to see this cruel Beast of *Rome* to play *Rex* here in *England* again; and though he be the First-Born of the Devil, yet to set himself up above all that is called God, and Worshipped? And yet you are now in more danger to see all these things come to pass (*because you received not the truth in the love of it, whilst you enjoyed it*) than your Predecessors have been this Hundred Years, they having now gotten both Wind and Tide with them, even *Opportunity* and *Incongruement*. Wherefore a Great Man concluded, *That now certainly the Papists would do their Work*, they were in so fair a way. But he reckoned without his Hoast. And lest my *Protestant Country-Men* should be too much discouraged in this apparent and approaching Danger, I will furnish you with one Rich Cordial, out of the Words of *Henry* the VIII. which he directed to the *Papists* in his days, in his foregoing Declaration against them: where he saith, *Are you not wicked which so hate the Truth, that except she be utterly banished, ye will never cease to vex her? The Living God is alive, neither can Truth his Darling, He being alive, be called to so great shame, contumely and injury as you would have her; and if she may be called to all these, yet can she come to none of them. Who is he that grievously lamenteth not! Men to be come to such Shameless Boldness, to shew apertly that they be Enemies to Christ himself? on the other side, who would not be glad to see such Men, as foolish as they be Wicked?* For they work a deceitful Work, and by all their cunning Craftiness, Mysterious, and Industrious Actings, they only dig the Pit, into which they must fall themselves, and contrive the ruine that must be their own Portion.

Your

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Your Second Danger, is to have the most Cruel and Inhumane Massacre executed upon you, that ever yet was committed in the World, by the Consecrated Hands and Weapons of the *Papists*. And this Glorious Service of theirs is designed upon the *English Protestants*, for the singular Promotion of the *Catholique Cause*, which hath its way usually prepared into all Nations, by Fire and Sword. The Wrath of the *Papists* is so kindled against you, and they are so thoroughly set on fire from Hell, that they are ready to break forth into their greatest flames, and to endeavour the Destruction of All at Once. It is well known, how well they are Hors'd and Arm'd, and how they train their Troops against the Bloody Day intended. It is well known, how well they are furnish'd with Money, intended for other purposes. It is well known what numbers of *French Men* are brought into the bowels of the *English*; and many Noblemen and Gentlemen are so pleased with the Children of those Strangers, that they have *French* Servants, *Papists*, to attend them, whom they have well Mounted and Armed, enough to make a little Army of themselves. And this they do that their strength may be hidden till opportunity shall serve to make it appear. It is well known that the chief Places of Strength, and many Chief Commands are in the hands of *Papists*. And now they become so numerous, and having such power, what is there wanting but a convenient Opportunity to fulfil all that is in their Hearts, upon Secure, Unarmed, Unprepared People, and to dispatch their work in few days, and especially upon thee O *London*, who art their chiefest Eyesore. O *England*, (except the Lord prevent it) thy Calamity is near, at the very Door: and thou mayst expect every day, now Peace is made Abroad, when these will unsheath and draw their Swords upon you here at Home: and you must be charg'd in the Kings Name (for so they will abuse it) to stand still, and to hold forth your Throats to Murderers. You cannot forget the dreadful Massacre at *Paris*, nor that late more dreadful and bloody Massacre of the *English Protestants* in *Ireland*, when more than a Hundred Thousand Innocent Persons, Men, Women and Children were in a very short time, with the greatest Cruelties and Torments that ever were heard of, murdered by them; and what Authority they pretended for it. But they have treasured up in their minds the fulness of all Cruelties, for you *English-men*. They have discovered something of their Kindness and good Pleasure to you in their firing the City of *London*, which they have left as an Everlasting Monument of their Treachery and Villany to *England*, and of their hatred to *English Protestants*; and let this most notorious fact of theirs be engraven in great Characters on the Gates and Walls, and Chief Places of your City, when it shall be built again; that all Posterity when they shall see New *London*, may know and consider what Persons, and what Religion burnt the Old. They have also often attempted the firing of
Southwark,

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Southwark, and of the remaining parts of the City ; for nothing but the utter ruine of it will satisfie them. And when the kindling of some of these later flames, was related to a Great Person, they laughing said, *Now the Game is begun again* : for they make but a *May game* of consuming all. And yet Fire only will not satisfie them, it is blood must follow, or they are never the near. It is you *O English Protestants*, whose lives they thirst after, and they can neither eat nor drink comfortably, nor sleep quietly, till they be filled with this Venison. And therefore of you it may be truly said, *Your lives are in jeopardy every hour*.

Yet for all this let us not despond nor cast away our Confidence, saying, *Our hope is cut off, and we are perished* ; for he that sits in Heaven laughs them to scorn, even the Lord hath them in Derision : and though we hold our peace, he will speak to them in his Wrath, and vex them in his sore displeasure. He will make his Arrows drunk with their blood, and his Sword shall devour their flesh, from the beginning of Revenges upon the Enemy. *Rejoice O ye Nations, with his People, for he will avenge the Blood of his Servants, and will render Vengeance to his Adversaries, and will be merciful to his Land, and to his People*.

Thirdly, Another of your Dangers, which also is one of the greatest, is your own Heedlesness and strange Security, in the midst of such thick Clouds and Storms which have encompassed us round, able to awaken even dead Men. How stupid and foolish were you at the burning of your City, when you saw with your own eyes, your Houses, your Substance, your Riches, all consuming together in those furious flames before your faces ; yet how insensible were you of your deplorable condition ? how regardless of that heavy hand of God ? how insensible of the Treachery and Cruelty of Men ? who did not only begin those flames, but also continue them in the Progress they had appointed for them. Had you the Brains or Hearts of Men, to suffer those Incendiaries who were taken in the very Act, to be rescued from Justice, and released to carry on their Villany again ? surely you were so Sottish, that had not the Lord been the more merciful to you, your Lives and Houses had perished together, as it was designed. Moreover, how insensible have you been of the *Papish Plot*, and intended Massacre ; as if those good Men had been but in Jest, when a Regiment of *Papists* was brought up to secure the *Protestants*, and a company of Wolves to guard the Flock ; and when some of their own Pens and Lips reveal their minds, why should you yet be so ignorant of it, who are wholly concerned in it ? Wherefore as your Lives hitherto have been dear to God, so let them now also be dear to your selves, and do not you say, *Peace, Peate*, when the *Papists* intend and prepare *Destruction, Destruction* ; but let that be verified of you, which *Henry VIII.* saith of his time ; to wit, *The World is not now in so light a suspicion of you (Papists) as it hath been hitherto, but every Man seeth*

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before his Eyes, your deceits, your Wicked Minds, your Immortal Hatred against the Truth, and the Professors of it, every Man sees how many miserable Tragedies your pretence of an Unity and Concord hath brought into Christendom. They see your fair face of Peace hath served Sedition, and troubled almost all Christian Realms. And therefore seeing they were so quick-sighted who lived above an hundred and thirty years ago, to see and foresee the Treacheries and Cruelties of the *Papists*, let not us who live so many years after, and have had far greater experience of them, be altogether blind, and see nothing at all, in the clear Noon-shine of their Doings.

Wherefore let all be admonished, that after the desired Tidings of Peace they be not so eagerly addicted to the rebuilding their Houses, and regaining their Trade, and prosecuting their Worldly Affairs and Concernments (whilst yet they are uncertain of the enjoyment of any thing) that they become careless and regardless how it fares with the Church of Christ and his Gospel (which is the very light and life of our Souls, as well as the foundation of all our outward comforts) or how active and watchful the Brood of *Antichrist*, which lurks amongst us, becomes, that they may deprive us of our Religion and Lives; and so, be as greedy Birds that are scratching for food, whilst the Net is spreading over them to catch them at unawares; for what will it profit you to win Estates, and to lose your Lives? your Lives are better than your Estates; and your Estates are but for the comfort of your Lives. And if the Enemy take away your Lives, whose shall your Estates be? they shall even become a reward to the Murderers.

Awaken therefore O *Protestants* and *English* Men out of your deep and dangerous Security! and stand upon your feet like Men: Ye dead men live again, and I will humbly and faithfully advise you (as I am able) out of very love, in a few things.

1. My *First* Advice is. that you believe none of their pretended fairness and kindness to you, seeing their hearts are wholly against you, and their hatred to you is immortal; even the hatred of the Devil in the Hearts of Men, which is a certain fire of Hell which goes not out by Day or by Night. But know for certain, when they promise fair, they are not to perform any thing, but the quite contrary: when they seem to kiss you, they intend to kill you; when they suffer you to be quite, 'tis that they may bring the greater Trouble upon you; when they retreat from the exercise of their fierceness, 'tis that they return upon you with the greater Fury, when you shall less think of it; for their whole Trade is *Deceit* and *Violence*. Though Satan transform himself into an *Angel of Light*, yet still is he is the *Prince of Darkness*; and these his Followers are exactly like him, both to deceive and to destroy: they will change their Colours, like *Protem*, to deceive

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ceive you, but they will never change their cruel Minds; but they that will be deceived, let them be deceived.

2. My *Second* Advice is, that none either Plot or Attempt any thing against the present Power, but that all stand still in their Place and Calling, like Wisemen with their Eies in their Head, quietly waiting for the Salvation of God. For no Mans Hands can help him in this Matter, but our strength is to sit still. We can no more change Kingdoms and Governments in the World, than we can alter the Course of the Sun or Moon in the Heavens; but it is the Great God that must do these great things. It is the most High God that reigns in the Kingdom of Men, and gives them to whomsoever he will. And when his time is come, the set and full time, and the most High shall utter his Voice, his instruments shall be at his foot, ready to do his work, even to execute the Vengeance written; and all his mighty Providences shall concur, to bring about the Council of his Will. Wherefore remember, that Mans rashness carries ruin in it, but Patience perfects both Gods Works and Mans. *In Patience possess your Souls.*

Wherefore all that we would do, if we might be heard by those that are instructed to help, at this needful Time is, only to desire for the Glory of God, and the Nations good, and their own, these three things.

1. That the dear and precious Gospel of our Lord and Saviour may be permitted publicly to be Preached again, in the Purity and Power of it, and that the faithful Teachers may be restored to their Ministry throughout the whole Nation. For when Jesus Christ who *hath all Power in Heaven and Earth given into his hands*, hath commanded his Ministers to go and teach in all Nations. How can you Worldly Powers, who have but a little Power in this Nation, answer it to him, when you forbid that to be done which he hath so solemnly commanded? He that *hath all Power in Heaven and Earth* hath commanded his Ministers to teach his Gospel, and dare you who have but a little power on Earth, and none at all in Heaven forbid them? If you do not repent of and amend this our Evils, it had been better for you, that you had never been born.

2. Our second desire is, That all *Popish* Commanders may be Disbanded, and put out of all Office and Trust in a *Protestant* Nation; and that all *Papists* through *England* may be disarmed; seeing they are not armed for us, but against us.

3. That all *French* and *Outlandish* Men may be banished; for they are but Moths in our *English* Garment, to fret it by degrees, all to pieces; as they have fretted a great deal of it already.

And

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And what *English-man* or *Protestant* is there, that will not join with us in these necessary Desires, which if they be not granted, farewell all Good Days from *England* for our time.

And now to conclude all, I shall only leave two or three Sovereign Antidotes with my dear Country-Men to preserve them from the noysome Contagion and Plague of *Popery*:

1. Consider with Trembling, that none are given up to this Damnable Delusion but those whose Names are not Written in the *Lambs Book of Life*, as the Spirit of God affirms *Rev. 13.8.* saying, *And all that dwell upon Earth shall worship him (i.e. the Beast or Antichrist of Rome) whose Names are not written in the Book of Life, of the Lamb slain from the Foundation of the World,* And what Person would carry such a Worm in his Conscience continually, for the whole World, and all the Kingdoms and Glory of it, as to know and certainly to understand, that his Name is not written in the *Book of Life*, nor can ever be put in; for all the Writings in that Book are from Eternity, and no new thing can be inserted in it. And therefore let Men say what they will, they are none of Gods Elect, who close in with this False and Heretical Religion, after the Gospel hath been Preached to them, and they have been instructed in it. For to depart from the known Truth to known Error, is not a Sin of Ignorance, but of Malice; and this is the *Sin unto Death*, for which there is no Remission. Wherefore let every one that would attain to any comfortable Assurance that his Name is Written in the *Book of Life*, flee from *Popery*.

2. They that Apostatise to this False Religion, are as surely to be Damn'd, as if they were in Hell already, This is a hard saying, but a True One: as it is evident in that of *Paul, 2 Thes. 2.* where speaking of *Antichrist*, that *Wicked One*, whose coming is after the working of *Satan*. with all Power and Signs, and *Lying Wonders*, and with all deceitfulness of Unrighteousness in them that perish, because they received not the love of the Truth, that they might be saved. He adds, *And for this cause God shall send them strong Delusions that they should believe a Lye, that they All may be Damn'd that believe not the Truth, but have pleasure in Unrighteousness.* This sort of People God gives them up to believe a Lye, the Grand Lye of *Popery* (for this whole Religion is nothing else but one continued Lye, from the beginning to the end of it) to the intent, that they should all Perish and be Damn'd. This is the Word of God, against all wilful *Papists*, and it cannot be made void. *John* also testifies *Rev. 14.9.* that an Angel Proclaimed with a loud voice, saying, *If any Man Worship the Beast and his Image, and receive his Mark in his Forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the Wine of the Wrath of God which is poured out without mixture into the Cup of his Indignation. and he shall be tormented with Fire and Brimstone, in the presence of the holy Angels, and in the presence of the Lamb;*
and

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and the Smoak of their Torment ascendeth up for ever and ever: and they have no rest Day nor Night, which Worship the Beast and his Image, and whosoever receiveth the Mark of his Name. In which Scripture you may see with open face, the sad end of all the *Popish* Generation: which is to be tormented for ever and ever. Wherefore out of very Malice, they have been, are, and will be our Tormentors here, when they get opportunity, because the Devil is to be their Tormentor in Hell for ever. Wherefore who ever would avoid the Torments of Hell let him fly from *Popery*.

3. Lastly *Antichrist* is now in his Old Age, and draws near his End, yea is drawing his last breath. He is very shortly to be utterly destroyed with the Spirit of Christs Mouth, and the Brightness of his coming. And what Wise-Man, yea what Man of common reason would join himself to *Antichrist*, for one hour, yea for one quarter or minute of his hour? If Men might have reigned with him many years, and have enjoyed his Delicacies for a long Season, then might it have been a strong inducement to a carnal heart, who seeks his Portion only in this life, to have closed in with him; but now to do it when his Destruction draws near, what extream Folly and Madnes must it needs be? Who would venture a Board that Ship which is just a sinking? or become a Subject in that Kingdom which is just ready to be rooted up? and confident I am through God, that after *Antichrist* and his Brood of Serpents, have play'd a few more of their old cruel Pranks anew in *England*, both He and They will become so utterly odious to All, that their Name shall be no more remembred among us, but with highest Contempt and Indignation, and that for ever. And let the Lord say *Amen*, and all his People.

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And

AND now O Lord, to whom should we look? our Eyes are only unto thee. And we beseech thee to look down from Heaven, the Habitation of thy Holiness, and of thy Glory, upon us, and upon our present Sad, and almost Desperate Condition: and stretch forth thy Holy Arm to maintain Thine Own Good Cause, (which thine Enemies scorn and deride, and laugh at among themselves) and to help afflicted Righteousness, and thine own poor People, who are brought very low, so that their belly cleaveth even to the dust. Indeed, Vain is the Help of Man, and our Enemies say, There is no help for us in God: But yet we know there is help in thee, and that thy help is never in vain. For thou canst do the greatest Things by the smallest Means, yea thou canst do the greatest Things, without all Means. For thou spakest and the World was made, thou didst command, and it stood fast. Therefore our Eyes are unto thee, O Lord, and we do believe that thou canst do all things; and can so do them, that none can resist thee. Is any thing too hard for the Lord? shall we call thy Power in Question, who didst prepare a safe passage for thy People through the mighty Waters, and didst cause them to walk on dry ground through the depths of the Sea? Take therefore thy great Power and come and Reign in the midst of these thy greatest Enemies, till thou make them All thy Footstool, and till thou hast put down all Rule, Authority and Power which lifts up its Head, and stretcheth forth its Arm against thee, O Lord, and thy Holy and Blessed Gospel, and thine Anointed. Oh cause Iniquity to stop its Mouth, and Wickedness to hide its face again. Let Violence no more be heard in our Land, nor Wasting and Destruction within our Borders; let the cause of the Fatherless and of the Widows be justly judged, Let thy Prisoners be loosed, and thine oppressed be eased; let them be helped, who have no helper. Make way with thy strong Arm for thy own Labourers to continue to come to thy Harvest-Work; for thy Harvest (we trust) is very great in England. And therefore O Thou into whose hands all Things are delivered of the Father, and all Power in Heaven and Earth is given; and who by this Greatest and Highest Authority of Thine, hast commanded thy Ministers, to go and teach all Nations, after thou didst send them: Oh do thou make way for them to teach this Unworthy Nation, before the Coming of the Son of Man; that through their

minist'ring

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ministring thy Word, thy Church may awake and rouse up it self, and put off its filthy Raiment, and may be restored to the Brightness of its first rising, when it was full of faith and love, and all Graces and Gifts of the Holy Ghost, without any mixture of Anti-christian Errors, that all thy People may strive together for the Faith of the Gospel, and not quarrel any longer about empty Forms; but may with One Mind, and with One Mouth confess the Truth as it is in Jesus: and then shall all Kings bow down before thee, and all Nations that serve Thee, they shall sing forth the Honour of thy Name and make thy Praise Glorious. Amen.

FINIS.

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Malice Defeated :

Or a Brief Relation of the Accusation and Deliverance of

Elizabeth Cellier,

Wherein her Proceedings both before and during her Confinement, are particularly Related, and the Mystery of the *Meal-Tub* fully discovered.

Together with an Abstract of her Arraignment and Tryal, written by her self, for the satisfaction of all Lovers of undisguised Truth.



Pfal. 35. 11. 12. False witnesses did rise up against me, they laid to my charge things that I knew not.

They rewarded me Evil for Good, to the spoiling of my Soul.

Pfal. 7. 14, 16. Behold he Travelleth with Iniquity, and conceived Mischief, and brought forth Falschood.

His Mischief shall return upon his own Head, and his violent Dealing shall come down upon his own Pate.

LONDON, Printed for Elizabeth Cellier, and are to be sold at her House in Arundel-street near St. Clements Church, 1680.

James Dole

James Dole

James Dole

James Dole



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Malice Defeated :

Or a Brief Relation of the

Accusation and Deliverance

O F

Elizabeth Cellier.

I Hope it will not seem strange to any Honest and Loyal Person, of what way or Religion soever, that I being born and bred up under Protestant Parents, should now openly profess my self of another Church.

For my Education being in those times, when my own Parents and Relations, for their Constant and Faithful *Affection to the King and Royal Family, were persecuted*, the King himself Murthered, the Bishops and Church destroyed, the whole *Loyal Party meerly for being so, oppress'd and ruin'd*; and all as was pretended by the Authors of these Villanies, for their being Papists and Idolaters, the constant Character given by them *to the King and his Friends to make them odious*, they assuming to themselves only the Name of Protestants, making that the Glorious Title by which they pretended Right to all things.

These sort of Proceedings, as I grew in understanding, produced in me more and more horiour of the Party that committed them, and put me on Inquiry into that Religion, to which they pretended the greatest Antipathy, wherein I thank God, I found my Innate Loyalty, not only confirm'd, but encourag'd; and let *Calumny say what it will*, I never heard from any Papist, as they call them, *Priest nor Lay-man*, but that they and I, and all true Catholics, owe our Lives to the defence of our Lawful King, which our present Sovereign *Charles the Second* is, whom God long and happily preserve so.

These sorts of Doctrines agreeing so my Publick Morals, and no way as ever I was taught, contradicting my Private ones, commending at the same time to me, Charity and Devotion, I without any scruple, have hitherto followed, glorying to my self to be in Communion with those who were the humble Instruments of His Majesties happy Preservation, from the fatal Battel at *Worcester*, and whom though poor, no Temptation could envite, to betray him to those, who, by a pretended Protestant Principle, sought his Innocent Blood.

These Truths I hope, may satisfy any indifferent person in my first Change, nor can they wonder at my continuance therein, notwithstanding the Horrid Crimes of Treason and Murther laid to the Charge of some

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persons considerable, for their Quality and Fortunes in that Party.

For when I reflected *who were the Witnesses*, and what unlikely things they deposed and observed, that many of the chiefest Sticklers for the Plot, *were those, or the Sons of those*, that acted the principal parts in the last Tragedy, which History told me too, had the Prologue of a pretended Popish Plot.

I say, these things made me doubtful of the whole; and the more I search'd for Truth, the more I doubted that the old Enemies of the Crown were again at work for its destruction.

I being fully confirm'd in this, thought it my duty through all sorts of hazards to relieve the poor imprison'd Catholicks, who in great numbers were lock'd up in Goals, starving for want of Bread; and this I did some Months before I ever saw the Countess of *Powis*, or any of those Honourable persons that were accused, or receiving one penny of their money directly or indirectly, till about the latter end of *January* (78.) the Prisoners increasing very much, and being in great wants, I went at the request of Captain *Pugh* then in prison, with his Letter to her Ladyship, to make known their condition, and also to shew her a Letter written by *Titus Oates* his own hand, being

A Narrative

Of *Oates* and *Beddo's* Acquaintance in *Spain*, and how *Beddo* under the Name of the Lord *Gerrard*, robb'd *Oates* of ten pieces of Eight, which he said was all he had, and had quite undone him. And also, how *Beddo* cheated Master *Francklyn* the Merchant at *Bilbo*, of three hundred Doubloons, at 18 s. per Doubloon, and in his way to *Bruges*, robb'd a poor Priest of four Royals, which he says, is about Eight pence *English*, and cruelly beat him because he had no more money, and after that, the same day, robb'd a poor *Franciscan* Fryar of his Bread and Cheese, and that there were Writs out in the nature of an Hue and Cry to take him; and that the said *Oates*, though quite ruined by the loss of his money, yet was not half so much griev'd at it, as for the dishonour that was thereby done to the whole *English* Nation.

This Letter was read before the King and Council the last time Master *Medborn* was brought thither, and by him delivered to his Grace the Duke of *Lantherdale*, in whose hand it still remains.

I also gave her Ladyship an account, that the most part of the foregoing year, *Beddo* lay prisoner in the Common side in the *Marshalseas*, and was fed out of the *Alms-basket*, having sold his Linnen and other necessaries to the Sutler for Bread and Drink.

After this her Ladyship taking the distressed condition of the Prisoners into her Consideration, through her pious and charitable Endeavours, there was a weakly Charity collected, of which I had the disposing, but was so far from the diverting any part thereof, that I still went out of Purse, of which truth, both the Prisoners and others have been very sensible since my Imprisonment.

About this time I went daily to the Prisons, to perform those Offices of Charity I was obliged to. And on *Thursday, January* the 9th (78.) I Din'd in *Newgate*, in the Room called the *Castle* on the Masters Side Debtors,

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Debtors, and about four in the Afternoon, I came down into the Lodge with five Women, of which, three were Protestants, and we all heard Terrible Groans and Squeeks which came out of the *Dungeon*, called the Condemn'd hole. I asked *Harris* the Turnkey, what doleful Cry it was, he said, it was a Woman in Labour. I bid him put us into the *Room* to her, and we would help her, but he drove us away very rudely, both out of the Lodge, and from the Door; we went behind the Gate, and there listened, and soon found that it was the voice of a strong man in Torture, and heard, as we thought, between his Groans, the winding up of some Engine: these Cries, stop'd the Passengers under the Gate, and we six went to the Turners Shop without the Gate, and stood there amazed with the Horror and Dread of what we heard; when one of the Officers of the Prison came out in great haste, seeming to run from the Noise,

One of us catcht hold of him, saying, Oh! What are they doing in the Prison.

Officer. I dare not tell you.

Mistress. It's a Man upon the Rack, Ile lay my Life on't.

Officer. It is something like it.

Cellier. Who is it *Prance*?

Officer. Pray Madam do not ask me, for I dare not tell ye, but it is that I am not able to hear any longer: Pray let me go, with that he run away toward *Holborn* as fast as he could.

We heard these Groans perfectly to the end of the *Old-Bale*, they continued till near seven of the Clock, and then a person in the Habit of a Minister, of middle Stature, gray hair'd, accompanied with two other men, went into the Lodge, the Prisoners were lock'd up, and the outward door of the Lodge also, at which I set a person to stand, and observe what she could; and a Prisoner loaded with Irons, was brought into the Lodge, and examin'd a long time, and the Prisoners that came down as low as they could, heard the person examin'd with great Vehemency, say often, *I know nothing of it, I'm Innocent: he forc'd me to belye my self, What would you have me say? Will you murder me because I will not belye my self and others?*

Several other such like Expressions they heard spoken as by one in great Agoney. About four of the Clock the next morning, the Prisoners that lay in a place above the Hole, heard the same Cry again two hours, and on *Saturday* Morning again, and about eight a Clock that morning a person I employ'd to spy out the Truth of that Affair, did see the Turn-keys carrying a Bed into the Hole, she asked who it was for, they told her it was for *Prance*, who was gone Mad, and had tore his bed in pieces. That Night the Examiners came again, and after an hours Conference, *Prance* was led away to the *Pres-yard*: This, and many things of the like Nature, made me very Inquisitive to know what pass'd in the Prison.

Soon after this, *Francis Corral* a Coach-man, that had been put into *Newgate*, upon Suspition of carrying away *Sir Edmund-bury-Godfrey's* body and lay there 13 weeks and three days in great Misery, got out, I went to see him, and found him a sad Spectacle, having the Fleth worn away, and great Holes in both his Legs, by the weight of his Irons. And having been Chain'd so long double, that he could not stand upright; he told me much of his hard and cruel Usage, as that he had been squeez'd and hasped into

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a thing like a Trough in a Dungeon under ground; which put him to inexpressible Torment, insomuch that he swooned, and that a person in the Habit of a *Minister*, stood by all the while. That a *Duke* beat him, pull'd him by the Hair, and set his drawn Sword to his Breast three times, and swore he would run him through; and another great *Lord*, laid down a heap of Gold, and told him it was five hundred pounds, and that he should have it all, and be taken into the aforefaid *Duke's House*, if he would confess what they would have him; and one *F.* a Vinter, that lives at the Sign of the half-moon in *Ch-fi*, by whose Comtrivance he was accus'd, took him aside, and bid him name some Person, and say, they imploy'd him to take up the dead body in *Somerſet-yard*, and gave him money for so doing; that if he would do this, both *F.* and he, should have money enough. He also told me, that he was kept from *Thurs'day* till *Sunday* without Victuals or Drink, having his hands every Night chain'd behind him, and being all this time lock'd to a Staple which was driven into the Floor, with a Chain not above a Yard long, that in this great Extremity, was forc'd to drink his own Water; and that the Jaylor beat his Wife, because she brought Victuals, and prayed that he might have it, and threw Milk on the Ground, and bid her be gone, and not look at him, &c. For the Readers further Satisfaction of his great and cruel Sufferings, I refer to the Party himself now living in *Gunpowder-alley* in *Shoe-lane*, and well known by his Misfortunes.

After this, hearing that *Mary White* had been much abus'd, and though big with *Child*, several ways tortur'd in the Prison, and lay only for want of her Fees, I paid them, hoping to find out the Truth by that means, she told me of many Cruelties that were daily used in the *Goal*, and that there was a person there that by Misfortune had been catch'd in the Company of *Coyners*, and though wholly innocent, had been cruelly used, because, as she said, he was a *Catholick*, and for a week together had worn a pair of Sheers that weighed forty pound, because he would not go up to the *Chappel*. That this person had made it his Business to inspect the Usage of the Prisoners, and had drawn up *Articles* against the Keepers.

About the tenth of *April* (79) I went to the Grate at *Newgate*, to speak with him, he was in Irons and Raggs, and said his name was *Willoughby*, and that he was Nephew to a person of Quality I knew of that name; And with great bemoanings told me that being just come from *Flanders*, he was lodg'd by Chance in a house where *Coiners* lodg'd; he was taken among them on Suspition, and though acquitted at the Sessions, yet the Disgrace had so displeas'd his Uncle, that he would do nothing for him, and he having no Parents nor Friends, was in great Danger of perishing there, and in very humble and religious words begg'd my Charity, and gave me the following

Articles

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A Brief Account of the Tyrannical Barbarisme inflicted on the Kings Prisoners in His Majesties Goal of Newgate.

THe detaining of Prisoners for Fees without limitation, and may till Death yield more favour than a stupified Jaylor, and all this after they have taken the benefit of his Majesties Most Gracious Free Pardon.

The taking 3 s. 6 d. per week for Lodging when the Statute allows but 2 d. per night or thereabouts, which if not paid, the persons indebted must immediately to the Common-side, and there be detained (as many have been) till they are starved, notwithstanding their being acquitted by Proclamation in open Court.

The shackling and lading of all persons committed with Irons, whose weight is without pity (from the Jaylor) to the intent they should give Sums of Money to purchase particular ease, which all persons cannot do, and those (of all) are most miserable.

The mercenary Intrigues of the Jaylor, which are beyond the thoughts of Christians, are thus, when any Prosecutor comes to view a prisoner in custody, and knows him to be the person for whom he sought, the prisoner is by the Jaylor forthwith sent for, who questions his ability, and if he finds sufficient to satisfy his Avarice, he promises to secure him with Life against Justice, by virtue of his Interest in the Recorder, but if poor, joyns with the Prosecutor to the same intent, either to the hazard of the Prisoners life, or at least a tedious Confinement.

The illegal detaining of another sort of persons which have pleaded His Majesties Pardon of Transportation, and according to the form thereof have given in Bail to Transport themselves in 8 months, which is the time limited in the said Pardon, which persons, notwithstanding their being bail'd, are still detained, and often till the time be expired, which makes the Jaylors Market with the Merchant, and enslaves the persons, or at least creates Vice instead of Reformation, and converts the Money to his own Use.

The debarring Prisoners liberty of Conscience, and compelling them to go 3 or 4 pair of Stairs to Chappel, (as the Jaylor calls it) but as it will otherwise appear to be seen by Strangers, (through Grates like the Lions at the Tower) who give money to the Jaylor for the same, which persons are so severely tortured, that it is not to be thought, and that with such Irons as (in Jaylors language) are called Shears, which are in weight 40 or 50 l. and a yard in length, with one Legg fixed at one end, and the other at the other end, which barbarous Engine produces such Torture, that the persons on smooth ground can move but 3 or 4 inches at a time, this is his pretence to secure his Prisoners.

The putting of persons which are Debtors to the Crown, in the place he used to secure Condemned Prisoners, and that for not writing this following Supercription on a Letter (To the Worshipful William Richardson Esquire)

Mary Middleton.
Susan Wallace.
T. Willoughby.

Mary White.
Mary Middleton.
John Whitehand.
Robert Ball.
James Douglas.
T. Willoughby.

John Whitehand.
Mary White.
John Player.
Tho. Willoughby.

William Leigh.
Anne Sutton.
Tho. Willoughby.

Judeth Collingson.
Elizabeth Evans.
Mary Porter.
Tho. Willoughby.

Mary White,
and others.

Jane Middleton.
Mary White.
Charles Parker.
T. W.

To this part
T. W. only.

Jane Middleton.
Magdalen Clench.
Jos. Mallory.
T. W.

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Esquire) there to be laden with Bolts, and continued without food or sustenance during the worshipful Jaylors pleasure.

*John Whiteband.
Mrs. Whiteband.
Elizab. Golding.
T. W.*

The separating a Wife from her Husband, and all manner of Friends and Relations, as well from sick persons as others, which they do to compel such persons as are desirous to see their Friends, to give money before they be admitted.

T.W. only to this.

That all persons whatsoever are carefully searched, as they come in, lest they should bring in such goods or provisions, as are by his Worship prohibited. And that he takes care with his Subbs, to be very diligent in such search, for the better creating a Vend for his own Goods, which are so bad, that it oftentimes breeds Distempers, and so small a quantity for money, that unless Prisoners are more than well stored with money, poverty strikes in, to their great detriment.

*Mary White.
Jane Middleton.
Joseph Mallorey.
John Whiteband.
T. W.*

That about the 8th. of March last, a person whose name was *Robert Thompson* died, and is to be apparently made out, that it was for want of Food, as his Corps also signifies, which was an absolute Skeleton, and that within the space of 24 hours *Contr. for. Stat.* the Jaylor disposes of him as he thought most fit, and that without any Coroner to enquire of his Death, and to give an account of the said Subject to our Sovereign Lord the King, &c.

Dorothy Ramsey.

That the Jaylor ordered his Subbs to Punish or privately Torture with Thumb-scrues, the person of *Dorothy Ramsey*, to the intent she should discover the manner of *Owen Hursts* escape, who was her Husband.

*William Leigh.
Jane Middleton.
John Zeal.
T. W.*

The Jaylors Extortion on the Kings Prisoners, after his Majesty has of his Bounty and Goodness extended his gracious free Pardon, comes to the Prisoners inserted therein (the said Pardon Signed and Sealed) and tells, if they, or as many as can, will raise such a certain Sum, he will assure them a Pardon, others which cannot, are by his base jugling left only as Convicts for Transportation, and that for want of Money; thus are the Laws of the Realm, and his Majesties pleasure to his poor Subjects, violated, and to make the Jaylors Market, which is as usual with him, as with our most Clement Prince to extend his Mercy.

*Mary White the
Midwife.
Several Prisoners.
and others.*

The close Confinement of Prisoners without Relief or Sustenance, as particularly one *Mary White*, who for the space of seven weeks, was close confined from all Conversation, as well of Husband, as other near Relations; and not only burthened with excessive Irons on both Leggs, but for two days together, kept from any Victuals or other Sustenance; and after this, was by the Jaylors order, removed to a Room called the *Condemn'd Room*, and there for six weeks more kept with the Irons on her Leggs, and though big with Child to the Jaylors certain knowledge, yet did he cause her to be put in the Bilboes, and bolted her hands down to the Ground with Staples of a great bigness; by which inhumane and immoderate torments, she was so afflicted, that her Child died soon after it was born, occasioned, as Oath will be made by the usage aforesaid; and this done merely to enforce her to accuse her self and others of Crimes they imagined her and them guilty of.

That about a year since was in custody, as a Convict for Transportation, one *Elizabeth Evans*, who had given in Bail to the Recorder to Transport her self, according to the form of the Pardon, but was so indebted to the Jaylor,

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Gaol, as he pretended, that she could not raise moneys for the same, whereupon *Richardson* sends for the said *Evans*, and often requested her to refer her self to him, (to the end he might make good his Market with the Merchant) which she did, but when he brought a Master of a Vessel to take the said *Evans* away, she refused to go, and told the Gaoler, he promised to give her the Fees and turn her out; but that now she did perceive 'twas only to expose her to Sale, which she would not consent to, upon which refusal, the Jaylor forthwith ordered her to the Condemn'd Room; there to be double Iron'd, and kept without sustenance, or any converse, till his farther Order, which came not in two days, then he himself examined her again, whether she would consent, but she refused, and then the Jaylor thought fit to employ some other Engines of his Tyranny, amongst which, was a certain thing (by him called a Cap of Maintenance,) which was fix'd to her head with a thing like the Rowel of a Spur, being put into her Mouth, cleaves to the Roof with such extream Torture, that is not to be exprest; this the Woman endured several times, till at last, by making her Address to some good people, and telling the manner of her usage, they did contribute to the Gaolers demands, and so she with great difficulty obtained her Liberty.

That the Jaylor has suffer'd persons after a Commitment, to go forth with a Keeper and Steal, to the intent of satisfying his Avarice: upon which the said Prisoner was taken, and the second time committed without any discharge from the first Commitment.

The Persons whose Names are on the Margent, either are or have been Sufferers in this, or some part of this kind, which may be easily produced to give Testimony according to the Truth, and no more.

Jane Voss.
The Jaylor's own
Entries in his
Book of Commit-
ments for the 7th
Month in the year
1667.

These Articles were put into Parliament that *April*, and they with the Prisoners Case, were refer'd to the Judges, where they still remain; and the poor Prisoners are yet in hopes, that their Honours will find a time to Examine both, some there affirming, there have been many more cruel things acted in that Mansion of Horror, as the Story they tell of one Captain *Clarke*, who being Prisoner only for Debt, was lock'd up in a little dark hole two days and two Nights, having no other company but the Quarters of two Executed persons, the extream stench of which had perhaps kill'd him, had he not took the miserable relief of holding a foul Chamber-Pot to his Nose.

Upon my receipt of the Articles, I gave *Willoughby* two shillings six pence, for which he was very thankful, saying, *He had eaten nothing in two days*; and upon his frequent solicitations for Relief, I did send him at several times, whilst he was in *Newgate*, sixteen shillings, and no more, till the day he went out, and then I sent him money to pay his Fees by my Maid *Margaret Jenkins*, and did pay sixteen shillings by her hand to fetch his Coat out of Pawn.

And about that time, having been told by Mr. *Kemish*, then Prisoner in the Kings-Bench, that *William Stroud* there Prisoner, pretended to know much of the Plor, and had Papers in his Custody, that would prove *Beddo's* actions to be Villany, and a Letter of *Beddo's* own hand-writing, expressing he knew no more of the Plor, but what he had from his old acquaint-

tance Mr. Oates; nor did he ever see Sir Edmundbury Godfrey alive or dead, and that it was very easie for him the said Stroud, to be instructed, and become the Kings Evidence, if he were willing.

A Copy of this Letter Stroud gave to Mr. Keymisb, and I received it from him, he saying moreover, That Stroud told him, that the Earl of S. was instructing of him, and setting him up for a new Evidence, and in order to it, did daily send one Johnson a Servant of his Lordships, to meet him in the Lodge, as many persons are ready to testifie upon Oath; and that the said Johnson frequently brought him money, with promises of Pardon for the Murther he was then Condemn'd for, and promised him *Great Preferments if he would swear stoutly* what he should be instructed in; but that the said Stroud said, he would not Forswear himself for all the world, but when he was Sworn for a Witness, he would tell the Truth, and discover all Beddo's Villany.

I believing this to be meer Roguery, invented to insnare Mr. Keymisb and Mr. Anderson, did pay Willoughbys alias Dangerfields Fees in Newgate, intending to set him upon the discovery of it, and he being at that Instant arrested, I removed him by Habeas-Corpus to the Kings Bench, and sent my Maid Margaret to him to bid him get acquainted with Stroud, and use his utmost Endeavour to obtain a sight of the Papers, and find out the truth of the transactions between the Earl of S----- and Stroud. Willoughby then acknowledged that he had been a Criminal, but exprest much sorrow for his past Crimes, and made great protestations of future Amendment, saying, that Stroud and he had been long acquainted, and *that they often had been a Robbing together*, and he doubted not to Effect what I desired. And in order to it, would keep him company, and every day set down what he could get out of him.

On the 12th of May he was carried to the Bench, and on the 20th sent me this following account of that affair by Margaret Jenkins.

May the 13th, Stroud did acquaint me, that about 15 years since he knew Bedlow, who was then servant to Alderman Blackwel of Bristol, and was so Poor, he had scarce Shooes and Stockings to his Feet; but Strode denies he ever see Bedlow since, till he and Oates came to the Kings-Bench to view the Prisoners, and once since that Mr. Bedlow came with his Brother, who was the night after wounded. He denies the holding of any correspondence with Mr. Bedlow either by Letter or otherwise, but sayes that one Philip Marsh (who is either a friend or a Servant to Mr. Bedlow (is his friend) that is to say, Strodes friend) and that they said Phillip Marsh has often sent Letters to Strode, in which Letters it has been desired that the answers thereto should be left at Bedlows lodging; but the Contents of the said Letters either were not worth while to repeat, or he was unwilling so to do.

May the 14. 1679. Strode told me this day, that Bedlows occasion of giving him Money was to the intent he should conceal something he knew of Bedlow, which if discovered, would be of consequence enough to hang him, if prosecuted on the same; and the sums which Bedlow sent him were the greater, for that Strode should take particular notice of the behaviour of the Priests which are here, and who they did correspond with; which Strode has done, and has sent some to follow divers persons which
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have come to Mr. *Anderson*, which persons and their abodes, are as *Strode* sayes, well enough known, and hereupon swore *Damn his soul*, if they should not be better known if ever he could obtain his liberty.

May the 15. *Strode* acquainted me, that either his business was either past, or in great probability so to be; and when he could get his enlargement, there were some in the world should soon feel the effects of his fury: But amongst the rest, Mr. *Anderson*, who as *Strode* said, was very uncertain of ever being so near his liberty; but if there be ever any probability for *Andersons* liberty, *Strode* makes no doubt but to prevent the same. By this I find *Strodes* thoughts to be laden with venome (as having been thwarted in his temper by some of the *Catholicks*) and to his power he designs a Revenge on them, but for what I know not.

May the 16. *Strode* did this day acquaint me, that his wife had in a *Cabinet* at home in the Country, the original papers which concerned Mr. *Bedlow*, and when he can be at liberty to go home, he will be very brisk in exposing the said matters contained in the said papers to a publick view; but whilest he remains in custody, he will not impart the said matters to any person whatsoever, for that he will not bring himself under Mr. *Bedlows* Lath.

May the 17. *Strode* did tell me, that one Mr. *Johnson* (a Servant to the Right Honourable Earl of *Shaftsbury*) did often come to visit him, and bring him Guineyes, in order to the prevailing with him for to joyn Evidence with *Bedlow*: but *Strodes* answer was (as he informed me) that he would not perjure himself for Ten thousand worlds.

May the 18. *Jones* (*Strodes* Bedfellow) did inform me, that he had this day seen in *Strodes* hands some papers which did contain the whole matter of the Popish Plott, in a more plain manner than either *Oats* or *Bedlow* could make out.

And that the Earl of *Shaftsbury's* servant (whose Name was Mr. *Johnson*) came often to *Strode*, to Court him to give his Testimony against the Lords in the Tower, and had offered *Strode* most considerable sums of money if he would do the same.

May the 19. *Jones* did tell me, *Strode* had in some discourse informed him, that *Bedlow* in the time of his Padding was entertained at *Strodes* house, and particularly when there had been a Robbery committed but a day before, and at the same time a Hue and Cry was all over the Country to apprehend him: And that it is not long since that *Strode* sent to his wife at *Shepton Mallet* in the County of *Somerset*, for the Copies of some Writings which were in her Custody, which said writings are the original of those he shewed *Jones*.

May the 20. *Jones* sayes, *Strode* has often prayed his advice what to do in a matter of such weighty Consequence as was to be made out from the aforesaid papers: *Jones* answered him, that in regard he was in Reversion of a good Estate, and had divers good and honourable Relations to support him, it would perhaps be much more both for his Credit and advantage to be silent in things of such a nature than to stir, unless he could make every particular thereof visible by a lively Testimony. Upon which Advice *Strode* did promise to let it fall, rather than run the hazard of disobliging his Relations and Friends, and become altogether obnoxious.

The foregoing informations, written by *willoughby's* own hand, were found between the Pewter in my Kitchen by *Sir William waller*, when he search'd my House, and by him Carry'd before the Lords of the Council; and as the Father of Lyes did once tell truth, so he hath inserted *this one truth* in his lying Narrative. But since it is the reward of Lyes, not to be believ'd when they do tell truth: That he may be Credited this once, I Print the Copies of the four following Depositions, which with many more I have to the same purpose, do all confirm it.

Thomas Hill Gentleman maketh Oath, That *William Stroud*, Confederate with *Thomas Dangerfield*, did about June or July (79) very much Importune this Deponent to Joyne with him, the said *Stroud*, *Oates* and *Bedlow*, to be the Kings Evidence, and to swear that the Queen and their Royal Highnesses, the Duke and Dutchess of York, and the Lords in the Tower, were Traytors, and Guilty of the Plot; and the said *Stroud* told this Deponent, that it should be worth two or three Thousand Pound to him, and his Liberty for so doing; and the said *Stroud* told this Deponent and several others, that the Earl of *Shaftsbury* sent him what money he would spend for the Carrying on of the Plot against the Duke and Lords in the Tower: And that his Lordship sent a servant of his, called Mr. *Johnson*, to the said *Stroud* very often to Incourage and Drink with the said *Stroud* in the Lodge, and gave him money, as the said *Stroud* told me. There also came a Steward of his Lordships, called Mr. *Stringer* and Mr. *Edward Stroud*, to hear what the said *Stroud* would swear against the Duke and the Lords in the Tower before his Lordship would procure the said *Strouds* Pardon: Since then, the said *Stroud* hath made Affidavit to the same purpose, where he nameth his Royal Highness and the Dutchess; and his Confederate *Dangerfield* got an order to bring this Deponent before *Stephen Harvey* and *Thomas Foster* Esq; his Majesties Justices of the Peace, about the 9th of December (79) to come and take an Affidavit of this Deponent, saying, the same would much corroborate the Evidence the said *Dangerfield* had given concerning the Plot, and what the said *Stroud* had Deposed also, and that the said *Dangerfield* in pursuance thereof, did urge and perswade this Deponent to swear to the said *Strouds* Affidavit, and would not let this Deponent read the said *Strouds* Affidavit; but the said *Dangerfield* did both read the said *Strouds* Affidavit, and also write what this Deponent said, but he omitted reading that which concern'd the Duke and Dutchess of York, and so thought to put a trick upon this Deponent, and bring him in as an Evidence against them, but that Justice *Foster* did espie it, and ask'd this Deponent concerning the particulars relating to the Duke and Dutchess, and then this Deponent truly swore he never heard their Names so much as mentioned concerning the Plot. Since that, the said *Dangerfield* hath set out a Narrative where he mentions this Deponents Name in several particulars, which is very false; he hath also sworn against Mr. *Anderson* in his tryal, where he mentions this Deponents Name to that which is very false. The 30th of January or thereabouts, *William Stroud* came to the Kings Bench and told this Deponent before another Gentleman, that if he had joyn'd with him, *Dangerfield*, *Oates* and *Bedlow*, in giving in his Evidence against the Queen, Duke and Dutchess, and Lords in the Tower, he had been free from all his Troubles, and His Debts paid; but since he did not do it, he

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should suffer Imprisonment all his life, and in a worse Place; and that very night this Deponent was lock'd up in a little hole under Ground, and hath ever since been much oppress'd; and further this Deponent saith, he hath been very much perswaded not to appear at Mrs. Celliers tryal, and several have used means to the contrary, but this Deponent being Subpoena'd thereunto, is obliged to satisfie the truth therein, and will swear this Affidavit before a Judge, and carry it into Court, it being a Brief of what he hath already sworn before Sir George Jeffreys.

Signed by

Tho. Hill.

June the 10th (80)

The above named *Thomas Hill* further Deposeth, that upon a Sunday in the Afternoon, a Steward of the *Earl of Shaftsbury*, who did then live in *Aldersgate-street* (as *William Stroud* told me) and one *Mr. Edward Stroud* an Attorney in *Lincolns Inn*, came to the *Kings-Bench* to take the examination of *Mr. William Stroud* then a Prisoner, and after they had been lock'd in a Chamber about two hours, they sent for me, to ask me some Questions relating to what the Prisoner had been Examined to, but I not answering their expectation, we parted.

And after my Lords Steward and *Mr. Edward Stroud* was gone, I asked the Prisoner *Mr. William Stroud*, how he could carry it so fairly with *Mr. Anderson*, when I knew he had given in Articles against him; he told me, he durst do no otherwise than what he did, because if he did not do it, the *Earl of Shaftsbury* would not get him his Pardon out, he being under a Reprieve for Murder at that time.

Tho. Hill.

The 14th of July (79)

I Ann Moseley do testify, that I have heard *William Stroud* often say, that he could hang *Bedlow* if he would, and that he was maintained by my Lord *Shaftsbury*, to come and Evidence against the Lords in the Tower: That *Johnson* my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Man, threatned him from my Lord *Shaftsbury*, that his Pardon should be obstructed, if he did not joyn evidence with *Bedlow* against the Lords, although he said, if he were subpoena'd in, as infallibly he should, he would then declare my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s proceedings with him.

Other times I have heard him swear, that being so importuned from my Lord *Shaftsbury*, by his man *Johnson*, he was now resolved to stick at nothing, nay for an hundred Pound, he would sacrifice his own Father and Mother. As for *Mr. Anderson*, I do believe that what he alledges against him, as offering him five hundred Guineys, is false, for to my knowledge, he always shunned him as a Devil, knowing him from his first Imprisonment to be a great Rogue; but *Mr. Anderson* being an abstimious melancholy man, drank nothing but small Beer, which *Strode* after a Debauch always Coveted, threatning, that he would hang him if he denied him; this I have often heard *Strode* swear: I have often seen *Johnson*, and been in his Company with *Strode*, as also seen monys which *Johnson* and *Bedlow* gave him; to all this I am ready to swear, which I gave *Mr. Bedlow* notice

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of six or seven Months since by letter, though perhaps he never receiv'd it by being out of Town, the Coppy of the Letter which I have by me will Evidence this that I affirm to be true.

Ann Moseley.

I *John Adderley* do testifie, That *Mr. Anderson* was never much concern'd in *Mr. Strodes* acquaintance, and the more reason I have to believe it, is, for that as he from the beginning of his Imprisonment had notice of *Strodes* being a great Rogue; so was he not backward of advising me and all he had a kindness for, to shun *Strodes* Company; so that I look upon that story of *Mr. Andersons*, offering him 500 Guineys to take off *Bedlows* Evidence, to be a meer fiction and revenge for dispossessing him of his Chamber, and indeed, *Stroud* is so great an abstract of Debauchery and Villany, and hath always been reputed for such, that no Man of any tolerable reputation ever valued his word or his oath, and that this is the truth, I willingly subscribe, being ready to attest the same upon Oath.

John Adderley.

January 14. 1679.

I being often in the company of *William Strode*, amongst other Discourses, hapning to talk of the rise of some men, he the said *William Strode* did often say, that they were beholden to their own Industry, and that if he were out of Prison, he would not make any scruple for an hundred Pounds to Sacrifice any Person, nay his Father for a considerable Reward; and that he was kept here for a Spie, as he said himself; and hath shewed me Silver and Gold, which he said he received from one *Mr. Johnson* the Earl of *Shaftsburys* man, and of one *Mr. Bedloe*, for such Service. Likewise the Marshal finding it fit to remove *Strode* out of his Chamber, and place *Mr. Anderson* in it, he was so transported with Rage, that he came into the Gallery to me, and swore that he would be Revenged: Nay, that he would ruin *Mr. Anderson* with the first opportunity. And this I took the more notice of, because he hath sworn to me, that nothing Sacred should tie him to Truth or Lie, farther than to gratifie his Gain or Revenge, and gloried in other Murthers he said he had Committed besides that he had his Pardon for, which is the averment of a Person of unspotted Reputation, that is not willing to be expos'd in Print, but is ready to make Oath of it when thereto required.

These Testimonies I hope may satisfie an indifferent person, that *Dangerfield* once writ Truth.

After this, he frequently by *Margaret* and others, sent his humble Request to beg the Charity of his Inlargement, protesting that he never would attempt an ill thing again, but would get a Service, and take any pains for an honest Livelihood: and upon his reiterated Intreaties, I collected some monys for him, and did pay five Pounds to buy off the Debts he lay under, and not a Penny more, as appears by the General Releases from his Creditors, which were taken among his Papers, and carried before the Council.

And the day he came out of Prison, I did give him, not five Pounds as he says, but 10 shillings, that he might not steal for want of bread, and at the *Jesuits* Tryal, did employ him as a Messenger to go up and down to fetch

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fetch Victuals and Drink for the Witnesses, to wait on them, and to help them into Court, call Coaches, and other such like Services, which he performed so well, that several persons asked me, *whose diligent Footman he was*, for indeed, being in an old Frize-Coat lin'd with Blew, Blew Stockings and Breeches, and a Grey Hat tuckt up, to prevent flapping about his Ears, he could not well be taken for any other than an ill clad Footman, though now he be *Dubb'd Knight of the Post, and wear a Pearl in his Ear*, to shew that the Executioners were kind to him, and did not Nail his Ears to the Pillory, neither at *Salisbury, Wilton, Winborne*, nor any of the other places where he was Mounted upon the Wooden Engine, and peep'd through it like *Don Quixot* through his Helmet, when he was mounted upon *Rosinant*, and going to encounter with the *windmil*.

About that time I sent for him to *Powys* House, and there told him in the presence of Mr. *Henry Nevil* alias *Paine*, that now I would put it into his power to be an honest man, if he had a will to be so; and would get him either an Ensigns place under the Duke of *Monmouth*, who was then preparing to go to *Scotland*, or else an Imployment to go to Sea: he made choice of the later, which while they would enquire; for my Husband having some Thousands of Pounds due to him, which was so desperate, that I could never make any thing of them; he told me he understood such business, and doubted not to get in many of them if he had but a Suit of Cloaths, a Hat, and some few necessaries, that he might be in a condition to follow them, which he promised to do very diligently. I considering he could not wrong me, for that no person would pay money without my Husbonds discharge: And that he having no other business but to persue the Debtors, it was possible he might get in some of them; I agreed with him, that he should have six shillings in the Pound for what he received, and did give him a Stuff Suit, a Hat, Shooes and Stockings, and a little Linnen, all which cost about 3*l.* 10*s.* and accordingly he proceeded, and did get in some money, and Bail'd out several Prisoners, and very often would bring me News of the great Designs of the Faction, and that they talked Treason publickly in the Coffee-houses. I encouraged him to keep them company, and learn what he could of their Practices, in order to discover them to His Majesty; and I having heard by some very Eminent among them, that herded with them, only to break their Measures, that they had drawn Forces into the City whilst His Majesty was sick at *Windsor*, with intention to subvert the Government; and that if His Majesty had died, which at that time was the fears of the Loyal, and hopes of the Faction, they would have knock'd the Lord Mayor o'th' head, with such Aldermen as would not Conform, and that by the help of their Partizans in those places, they doubted not but to have been Masters of the *Tower, Portsmouth, Dover* and *Hull*, and most places of strength within the Kingdom, and that the *Scots* would advance to their help, with much more to the same effect, which I gave in my Depositions before the Lords of His Majesties Privy Council.

And having been inform'd by persons to whom they had been proffer'd, that *Mansel* and *Waller*, did both offer Commissions to disbanded Officers, with promises that they should enter into *present Pay*, and advised them, and all honest fellows, to linger about the Town, for there would soon

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be hot service; and having also heard that Sir *William Waller* said Publickly in *Southwark*, before persons of considerable quality, *That there would be a Rebellion before Michaelmas.*

These discourses being then almost General, made me the easier Credit him in particulars, as that in order to this design, many of the *Old Rump Officers were new rigg'd*, and had Pensions paid them by the Gentlemen of the *Kings-head Club*, and that Commissions were given out by the Relicts of the Rump, under the names of the Keepers of the Liberties of *England*; and that he was promised one among them, and had seen several, and that they were made of Parchment with thirteen Label Seals: I encouraged him to go on, and gave him money to defray his Charge, and bid him observe their Actions and Designs, and write down his observations, that they might be made known to His Majesty; and be sure to write nothing but the Truth, for one Lie would discredit all the Truths he told.

After that, he writ down at several times, that which was afterwards found by Sir *William Waller* in my *Meal-tub*, and as what I did was truly in Zeal for His Majesties Service, so that very night he came to Town from *Windsor*, I went to the Earl of *Peterborough*, and acquainted him with it, and he presently handed us to his Royal Highness, to whom *Willoughby* delivered the foresaid Paper, to be given to His Majesty, and His Majesty was pleased to give it to Mr. Secretary *Conventry*, and commanded *Willoughby* to attend upon Colloael *Halsal* with what further discoveries he could make, and ordered him forty Pounds, the better to enable him to proceed therein.

About this time the transactions concerning Sir *Robert Peyton* happened, and I believing then, as I still hope, that Sir *Robert* abhorring the disloyal Practices of those he called Friends, was willing to come into the Kings Interest, and help the Government against those that so subtilly sought to destroy it: I then made the meeting between the Earl of *Peterborough* and Sir *Robert Peyton* at Mr. *Gadburies* house, and did afterwards go with Sir *Robert* to the Duke, and his Royal Highness received him kindly, and Sir *Robert* made Protestations to serve His Majesty faithfully for the future, as I hope he will.

For my part it was no motive but my Loyalty and Duty to His Majesty, and Love to Truth and Justice, that engaged me in this affair, believing I should do His Majesty good service, by bringing back as many as I could of the *Incensed or Mised, to their Duty*; and I cannot yet think I erred in so doing. About the later end of *September*, *Dangerfield* daily brought me Stories of the great preparations of the Factious, and that they publicly owned their Treasonable designs, and that the Parsons, *Goodwin* and *Alsop*, and the rest of that Gang, made great Collections amongst the Brethren, in order to the carrying on their Rebellious Designs; and that Sir *William Waller* had three hundred Horsemen privately quartered in Town, that would be ready for Action in an hours warning; and was the Party that should lead up the Rabble of *Westminster* to seize *White-Hall*: That the City was ready to Rise, and expected only the word from the *Confederate Lords*. About this time *Willoughby* got drunk, and pick'd a quarrel at the *Rainbow-Coffee-house* with one *Keyniston*, about Sir *Thomas Player*, and thereby

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thereby made himself obnoxious to the Republicans; and having lost the hopes of obtaining a Commission for himself, he then sought to get one by means of other persons, and then swore, *God Dam him*, now the Papists will give him no money, *he would go to the Presbyterians, and they would give him enough*; but of this I then knew nothing, and he strictly charged those he treated with in this affair, not to tell me any thing of their Proceedings, as appears by the Oath of *Thomas Curtis*, taken before Justice Warcup, *vide*, the said Affidavit in *Dangerfields* first Narrative, Pag. 72, 73.

In the beginning of *October*, he pretended, that by Information from a Person that by his order haunted Sir *William Wallers* Club at *Westminster Market-place*, he understood that several Treasonable Papers importing the whole design of the Factious, were kept in a house at *Westminster*, and that if he could get a Warrant, and search that House, he doubted not but that he should lay open the whole Conspiracy, and in order to it, he went to his Majesty to pray a Warrant, and was by his Majesty referr'd to Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, but Mr. Secretaries great wisdom made him suspect him and his *Shallow contrivance*, inso^much that he would not give him a Warrant, but I, as I said before, being induc'd to Credit him in *those things which related to the same ends*, others not inconsiderable among them had discours'd with me, and being zealous to have the danger plainly Discovered, that it might be prevented, did upon his complaining that he was deny'd a Warrant, advise him to go by the Custom-house-way, which he did, and then seiz'd the Papers, which I suppose were easie to be found, being in all likelihood put there by himself, in order to his being dignify'd with the Magnificent Title of the Kings Evidence.

Upon *Wednesday* the 22 of *October* (79) *Willoughby* was taken, Examined, and went upon *Basil* till *October* the 24, which day I having been abroad, and heard much talk of him and his Plot, came home and found him at my House, he came to me, and pray'd to speak with me, for that he was going before the Council after Dinner, and did believe he should be Committed. I then going into the next Room, the following discourse pass'd between us.

Cellier. In the Name of God, what is it you have done, that here is such a Bustle in the Town about you?

Willoughby. Pray Madam do not ask me, for it is best for you to be Ignorant of it: I hope your Innocence will defend you, and your ignorance will be your best Plea, and therefore I will not do you so much wrong, as to tell you any thing of it: I have done something I should not have done, but I hope God will bring me off, and that I may be the better able to make my Defence, pray do me the favour to lay up this Paper safely for me; and by the help of this and Truth, I hope to defend my self.

Cellier. Is it nothing that will bring me in danger?

Willoughby. If it were, I would not be such a Villain to give it you; it is the same Paper that lay before Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, and he return'd it to me the last week. I opened it, and finding it the same, gave it to my Maid *Anne Blake*, and she put it into the *MEAL-TUB*, where Sir *William Waller* found it.

Munday October the 27. he was committed to Newgate with the following Commitment.

T*Hese are in His Majesties Name, to require you to take into Custody the Person of Thomas Willoughby herewith sent you, for forgeing of Letters Importing High Treason, and fixing the same privately at Mr. Mansels Chamber, to render him guilty thereof without Cause: And you are to keep him safe till he shall be delivered by due course of Law; for which, this shall be your Warrant.*

Council-Chamber, *White-Hall*
October the 27th (79)

Worcester.
Bridgwater.
Faulconbridge.
Francis North.

Henry Coventry.
Henry Capel.
Henry Powel.
John Nicholas.

To the Keeper of *Newgate*,
or his Deputy.

That Night I was not at home, but the next Morning hearing Sir *William Waller* intended to be at my House, I made hast home to meet him, and about Noon he came and made a diligent search among my Papers, and told me, I must go along with him to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, I replyed,

Cellier. I have no business with the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and if his Lordship have any with me, he might have sent one of his Servants to tell me so, and I would have waited on him, as I am still ready to do, without being had before a Justice of Peace. — *But what Authority have you to carry me thither?*

Sir William Waller. His Majesties Commission of the Peace.

Cellier. Though that doth impower you to send me to Prison, if I be accused of any Crime, yet it doth not give you power to carry me any whither else.

Sir William Waller. You are a dangerous Woman, and keep correspondence with Traytors, and harboured the *St. Omers* Youths—I took them out of your House.

Cellier.

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Cellier. What if I did? they came over at His Majesties command, and therefore I presume it was no Crime to Lodge them.—And none can be properly call'd Traytors, but those that are Convict of Treason; And do you know any such I keep correspondence with? *I am sure I know none.*

Sir *Will. Waller*. Will you take the Oaths of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance*?

Cellier. Have you any Authority to offer them to me? I suppose you have none except here were another Justice present; but if there were, I am a Forreign Merchants Wife, and my Husband, both by the General Law of Nations, and those of this Kingdom, ought to remain unmolested both in his Liberty and Property, till a breach happen between the two Crowns, and the King hath declared as much in his Royal Proclamation, and if you violate the Priviledges my Husband ought to have as a Merchant-stranger, the King of *France*, whose Subject my Husband is, has an Ambassador here, by whom we will complain to His Majesty, and I hope we shall obtain Redress.

If your Husband and any other person will pass their word for your forth-coming, I'll leave you here till I come back from my Lord *Shaftsbury*.

They pass'd their words for me, and he went away and left me, presently after *Willoughby* sent for *Susan Edwards* my Servant to the Prison, and he Howled and Lamented to her, and sent me a long Epistle; I have forgot the words now, but the Effect was, that he had been Tortured that Night, yet would be Torn in pieces rather than bely me, or any other *Innocent Person*, and desired to know what I was accus'd of, or by whom, and what *Waller* said to me: Then I sent her to him again with the following Note.

I have said you were taken into my house to get in desperate Debts—They bring me to L. S. They will ask me who encouraged me to go to him, I will say it was you, it cannot worst you.

This I said, because it was Truth, which I always thought the best way to defend my Life and Fame. Upon the Receipt of this Note he made great Lamentations to her, expressing his fears of being Hang'd or Starv'd there, but told her, though he had been proffer'd great Advantages, yet he would Perish rather than do any ill thing; and pray'd her to speak to me, that he might have Victuals sent him from my House daily, *And that I would send him a promise of it by her of my own writing.*

By this I perceiv'd he was already a Rogue, and endeavouring to get something of my writing, to make ill use of, I then Considered, that if I refus'd to promise him Victuals, I gave him an occasion to commit Villany for want of Bread; and therefore bid her tell him, that I would take order at my house that he should have Victuals sent him every day, as he had when he was under the Messengers hands. And to assure him of it, sent him the following words under my hand. It being a Motto my Parents had us'd, and I my self also,

I Never Change.

Knowing that if he were honest, that was enough to satisfy him: If a Rogue, not enough to do me any mischief.

About nine a Clock at Night Sir *William* came again, and found me at Supper with some Friends, but was very Civil, and would not disturb us; and about Ten he sent me to the *Gate-house*, with a Note to *Church* to

Lodg me in his own house; the Cause exprest in my Commitment, being for *Harbouring and Corresponding with Traytors*; though he could not tell me *who they were, nor when Convicted of Treason*; and for refusing the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, *which were never tender'd me*. All that night he and his Crue kept their Rendevouz in my house, tearing and pulling down the Goods, and filling his own and his Footmans Pockets and Breeches with Papers of Private concern, which he never carry'd before the Council, nor as yet restor'd, though some of them be of *Considerable value*.

Next morning *his Worsh^p* sent to know how I did, and to tell me, if I thought he could do me any service, he would come and visit me. I reply'd, if he could, I knew he would not, and therefore desired him to spare his pains and my trouble.

Friday the last of *October*, I brought my self to the *Kings-bench Barr*, in hope to be Bail'd; but then at the Barr, *Church* opposed it, saying, *His Worsh^p* had sent in an accusation of *high Treason* against me, though I had as yet no Accuser; *And by the Law, no person ought to be committed for Treason, till accused by two honest, sufficient, lawful, and credible Witnesses, witnessing one and the same Individual Fact*.

November the first, I was examin'd before His Majesty and the Lords of the Council, where *the Fable of the Husband-man, and the starved Snake, was proved a Truth*; for *Willoughby* accused me of all the Forged Stories he tells in his Lying Narrative; and I unfeignedly told the Truth, and the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth. But the Lord Chancellor told me, no body would believe a word I said, and that I would Dye.— To which I replyed, *I know that my Lord, for I never saw an Immortal woman in my life*: And then kneeling down, said,

Cellier. I beseech your Majesty that I may not be Tortur'd.

The King. The Law will not suffer it.

Cellier. Such things are frequently done in *Newgate*; and I have more reason to fear it than any other person, because of what I have done against the Keeper, and therefore I beseech your Majesty, If at any time I should say any thing contrary to what I have now said, that you will not believe me, for it will be nothing but lies forc'd from me by *barbarous usage*, what I have now told you, being the truth, and the whole truth, to the utmost of my knowledge.

Then I was sent away to *Newgate*, and the next day was brought again before the Council, and then a Lord said, *Turn up your hoods Mrs. Cellier*, I did so; The Lord Chancellor ask'd me, if I had not been at the *Tower* to tell of *Willoughby's* Commitment, and bring instructions for him.

Cellier. I protest I have not been at the *Tower* Since.— Then the Lord Chancellor Interrupted me, saying, *She cannot speak three words of Truth*.

Cellier. Pray my Lord be pleased to hear me out, and do not Judge me till then, — I have not been at the *Tower* since *Thursday* was seven-night.

Lord Chan. That was the Time, what did you there?

Cellier. I Din'd there.

Lord Chan. Had you no talk concerning *Willoughby*? tell us the Truth, for the Countess of *Powis* hath told us all.

Cellier. My Lord, nothing of Truth can do me any harm, and I am sure

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sure her Ladiship will tell nothing else: I told her that Justice *Warcup* and *Manfel* had been at my House to demand him, and my Husband had past his word for his forth-coming. Then I was commanded to withdraw.

And understanding, soon after, that I should be Close Confin'd, the dread of being lock'd up on the top of *Newgate*, and attended on by Fellons, as Mrs. *Prescick* had been, though big with Child, and so troubled with Fits, that they came upon her every hour, which caused Captain *Richardson* to Pitty her, and take her into his own House; but some had been Locked up there a full year, and kept in Irons above Six months of the time, the fear of this, or worse usage, did so oppress my spirits, that though I be not the most timorous of my Sex, and never had any kind of Fit before, I fell into such Convulsions, that I had like to have died at *White-hall Gate*. Then I was carried to the Keepers House, and laid upon a Couch, and being a little come to my strength and senses, I told Captain *Richardson*, that if I should die in that desolate place, as it was like I might that very Night, most persons would believe that he had caus'd me to be Murthered, in revenge of the Articles I put into Parliament against him; whereupon he bid me be of good Comfort, for I should not be carry'd to the top of the Goal, but lye in his own House, which promise so revived me, that within an hour, I was able to go up into the Garret, where I had a very Good Bed, and a Maid ordered to lye in the Room by me; she tended me very diligently, and seem'd very much to Commiserate my Condition, *being, I suppose, set on to do so, that she might the more easily betray me*: I had brought Pen, Ink, and Paper from the Gate-house, and easily prevail'd with her for money, to carry a Note home to my House, in a Bottom of Thred, she carried and re-carried three or four, shewing them first to the Jaylors Wife and Sister, and they took Copies of them, and sent them to the Councel, perswading themselves they should make strange Discoveries, but I had Committed no Crime, and therefore *nothing but Innocence could be found in my Letters*.

When they saw this snare would not take, *then they laid another for my Life*, and brought *Willoughby* to a Window over against mine, to talk with me, having (as I then thought, and now know) set another Rogue behind me, to hear what I said.

Dangerfield. Madam, Madam, Madam, Pray Madam speak to me, and tell me how you do.

Cellier. I am Sick, very Sick of the Bloody Barbarous Villain.

Dangerfield. Pray Madam speak low, and do not discompose yourself.

Cellier. Nothing you do, can discompose me: I despise you so much, I am not Angry.

Dangerfield. I am very glad of it, for then I hope you will have patience to hear me speak. Pray how do they use you.

Cellier. Well, much better than I expected.

Dangerfield. Is any body suffered to come to you.

Cellier. No body.

Dangerfield. I am very sorry for your Confinement, but I could not possibly help what I have done.

Cellier. Bloody Villain, I am not confin'd, for *Stone Walls and Iron Bars*, do not make a Prison, but a Guilty Conscience: I am Innocent, and gain

gain that here, which my Enemies did not intend me for ; I have now nothing to do but to serve God, *but you are Confin'd, and one of the Devils Slaves.* Ah Villain ; for which of my Good deeds do you seek my Life ?

Dangerfield Crying, — you shall not dye, nor receive any other hurt.

Cellier. Wicked Wretch ! I do not fear, but desire to dye.

Dangerfield still Crying, — but you shall not ; look here how I have been used, and then shewed his Arms, and Howl'd, saying, he had been so miserably Tormented, that he was not able to bear it, but was forced to accuse me and others, to save his own life.

Cellier. Ah Villain, will you bely the Innocent, to save an Infamous Life ?

Dangerfield. I have told the King more than I could make out, and was forc'd to joyn with the Confederates to get my Pardon, for I have liv'd so ill, I am not fit to dye yet.

Cellier. Do you think to wipe off your other sins, by committing Perjuries and Murthers ?

Dangerfield. No, but God is merciful, and if I live, I may repent ; I was dislerted by every Body, and if I had not been Hang'd, I should have been Starv'd — It is a sad thing to depend upon an ungrateful and disunited People — If any care had been taken of me, to remove me to the Bench, they could only have *Pillored Me*, and I would never done this, nor any other Villany ; But since no body took any care of me, I had reason to take some of my self, which I will do. Those I belong to now are very kind to me, and *send me great Incouragements*, I shall have a Pardon within two or three days, and be set at Liberty, but before I go, I should be very glad you would consider your own Condition, *and not ruin your Family*, your Maid *Susan* will Swear against you, and there are two Persons found, that will lay worser things to your Charge, than I have done.

Cellier. Villain, you know it is all Lyes, Did I ever do any of those things ?

Dangerfield. Though you did not, they will be Sworn against you, therefore come in now whilst it is time, and *joyn with the most powerful, you may make your own Conditions* ; then he shewed me Gold, and told me what great Advantages were to be made by becoming the *Kings Evidence*. That the King was *Bought and Sold*, and here would be a Republick, and the *Duke would be destroyed in Scotland* : And that if I would say His Royal Highness gave me the Original of those Papers that were found in my *Meal Tub*, and bid me cause him to put them into *Mansels* Chamber, and Kill the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, then I should have a Pardon, and more Mony than all the Witnesses had had together, for the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and the rest of the *Confederate Lords* would raise *Ten Thousand Pounds* among them, which I should pass over by Bills of Exchange whither I would, as soon as I had Signed and Sworn the Depositions ; And I should have Twenty Pounds *per Week* settled on me by Act of Parliament as long as I liv'd : And if I would do it, some Persons of Honour should come and treat with me ; for though I were confin'd, *there was Lords that were Privy to all*, that would come on pretence to Examine me, and settle things to my satisfaction.

But I laugh'd at all this, and receiv'd his proffers as they deserv'd, and said, *Cowardly Wretch*, you are worse than your Elder Brother *Judas*, for he having betray'd one Innocent, left those that hired him, to seek false Witnesses

nesses for themselves; and repented, and brought again the Thirty pieces of Silver, and had *Courage enough to hang himself*: But you have betray'd and belyed many Innocents, and yet are such a Coward to waite for the *Hang-man*, for hang'd you will be. He that digs a Pit for another, shall fall therein himself: Therefore Repent you Rogue, and *tell the King who set you on*, for you will certainly be Damn'd if you do not. And then by the fit Application of other places of Scripture, I thook him so, that he Howl'd like a Dog that had the Tooth-Ach. And again shewed his Arms, where the *Irons or Cords had worn off the Skin*, telling me, he had been Rackt, and otherwise cruelly used to force him to accuse me.

Cellier. Ah Cowardly wretch! would you shed the blood of so many Innocents, to save your life? I had rather dye ten thousand deaths, than belye my self or others: And can there be *any Rogues besides your self* so wicked, as to endeavor to suborn Witnesses to belye the best of Men? Look there, do you see the Devil stand at your Elbow, assure your self he'll tear you to pieces alive; Then he howl'd again, and wrung his hands, pretending Repentance, and told me, that against to morrow he would write down all the Intrigue, with the Names of *those Lords and others*, that set him on, and give it me, if I would give him any hopes of a Pardon for my self and others he had wrong'd.

Cellier. It is not possible for you, nor any other Devil Incarnate, to wrong me more than I can forgive, if you Repent and leave your Villany; but do not dissemble, for dissembled Piety is double Iniquity.

Dangerfield. Do you think other Persons I have accused will forgive me?

Cellier. Yes, if you truly Repent, I doubt not but their Charity and Prudence will oblige them to that.

Then he told me a long Story, how kind the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and some greater men were to him, and what great things they had promised to do for him; yet he said he would Repent, and tell the Truth, and hop'd God would have Mercy on him. Then I went from the Window——

Next Morning he was waiting at his Window by Day-break, and throwing little Coals at mine——About Nine or Ten a Clock I went to the Window, hoping to perswade him to tell the Truth, *But like the Dog, was returned to his Vomit*, and propos'd to me, if I would not belye the Duke, to say the Earl of *Peterborough* gave me those Papers, and that I had received a Thousand pounds in Gold of Sir *Allen Apsley* to pay him for the Murthering the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and to raise Souldiers against the King: But I received this Proposition like the former, and Answered:

Cellier. Now I plainly see you are posses'd with the Devil, he speaks through your Mouth——*You worst of Rogues, how dare you talk thus to me?*

Dangerfield. Pray Madam speak low, and do not discompose your self, whatsoever happens, there shall no harm come to you.

Cellier. Wretched Villain! Innocence fears nothing; I have done no Evil, nor I fear none.——And shut to the Window, and would speak no more to him. All that day at times he hanc'd about the Window, shedding Crokadils tears, holding up his hands, and making beseeching signs to me to come to my Window. About four in the Afternoon I went, saying, *Blood-thirsty ingrateful Villain, what have you to say to me?* Then he wrung his hands and Lamented, saying, 'Now he was fully resolv'd to tell

‘the Truth, and if I would promise he should be Pardoned, would show me how to turn the Devices of the Malicious upon their own Heads, and had writ it all out for me, and would tye a Coal to it and throw it in ; but he would first try if he could sling in an Apple he had in his hand, he try’d, but the Apple fell down — He said there is something in it, and Ran down in great hast to fetch it — But I suppose those that set him on, had more fears I should Convert him, than hopes he should Pervert me, and would not let him appear any more at the Window, but presently I heard a great Noise in the Goal, and it was pretended, the Jaylor had discovered our interview, and Sir *John Nicholas* came that Night to search and examine me, I told him the Truth, but conceal’d that part which related to the Duke, the Earl of *Peterborough*, and Sir *Allen Apfley*, and would not own that I understood for what reason he shewed me Gold, as not thinking that a fitting time to tell such Truths, I having too many Enemies already.

Then the Window shutters were nail’d up on that side of the Chamber, and the Casement on the other side, and from that time I had not a breath of Air: I did but take out a Pain of Glafs, and they put in another, and unfolded and search’d all my Linnen, and cut my very Bread in pieces ; and search’d every thing with all imaginable strictness; yet Captain *Richardson* let me go when I would into a Room that look’d towards the Doctors Garden, where the Window was open, but there was such a noy-som smell in the Room, that I rather chose to be lock’d up in my own alone, than in that with a great deal of bold Company; for the Rats and Weezles plaid at Barly-break, and *boldly Robb’d me before my face*, and did not Dance without Musick, squeeking as they ran up and down: And the worthy Gentleman Sir *William Waller*, came likewise to visit me and ask’d if he could do me any Service, and fawning on me, with many flattering Expressions, *which I valued much like the Musick of my other Visitants*: He pretended a great deal of pity that such a Woman as I should be engaged among such a wicked and ungrateful people that Rail-ed at me, saying, I was the worst of Women, but if I would confess, as he would have me, and come to them, *I should be received according to my Merits*.

Cellier. I know nothing to confess, — At which he shook his head.

You know enough to save the whole Kingdom, if you would tell it.

Cellier. So I do, and would be glad to tell it, if Truth could be believed, but I have been already told in Presence of His Majesty and His Council, that *nothing I said should be believ’d*: And therefore I am resolv’d to tell nothing.

Sir William. Mrs. *Cellier*, if you will make any discovery to me, I’ll engage you shall be believ’d. — Then he began to ask me Questions.

Cellier. Sir, Spair your pains in Pumping, for I am neither Slave nor Coward, and will not be Examined in Confinement, enlarge me, and two days after I will tell you what I know.

Sir William. That I cannot do.

Cellier. Then let me speak with my Husband before a Keeper twice or thrice.

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Sir *W. Waller*. I cannot do that.

Cel. *What do you come hither for then, troubling me with your proffer'd Service, if you be able to do nothing that I ask you?*

Sir *W. Waller*. If you will make any Discoveries, then I will help you.

Cel. *Sir William, When I make Discoveries, I am sure you will not like them, Yet it is very like I may make some in time, and new ones too, for my Heart is too high to be zany to a fellow that went on my Errands.*

Much such like dark discourse we had, he still flattering me, and telling me what high esteem he had for my Wit and Courage. I told him I took his Tropical Speech as it was meant, and did as much admire him for another cause; and then pluckt Englands Bloody Tribunal out of my Pocket, and shewed him the Murtherers of his Majesties Royal Father, and many of his Loyal Peers and Gentlemen; and told him, that was the Game he would fain be at; he denyed it after such a manner, as made it visible even to the meanest capacity, That he did not think it a Crime, and then went away.

We had only such reflecting Speeches all the time of his stay, for Mr. Cooper, the Deputy Goaler came up with him, and I would not let him go away, for indeed I durst not trust my self with such a Doughty Knight as Sir William was, lest he should make Romances of me, as he had done of others; But I prayed him at parting to speak to his Majesty, I might be Tryed, for I was resolv'd I wou'd not lie there idle, but bring my self upon my Tryal as fast as I could.

The Friday after this, I was brought before the Council.

A Lord. Turn up your Hoods *Mrs. Cellier*, — I obeyed.

L. Chan. Come *Mrs. Cellier* have you writ home; since you were sent to Newgate?

Cel. *Pray my Lord, what Crime is it to write home?*

L. Chan. It is none.

Cel. *My Lord, self-Preservation is natural to all Creatures.*

L. Chan. How often have you written home since your Confinement?

Cel. *Truly my Lord I know not whether it was 3 or 4 times.*

L. Chan. How did you send it?

Cel. *Once in a little Box, and other times in Bottoms of Thread.*

L. C. What made you so earnest to have your Husband go into the Country?

Cel. *Because he is a man in Trouble, and I thought That the best place for him.*

L. C. Was *Margaret* in trouble too, that you sent to her to go out of Town?

Cel. *I did not, nor had any cause so to do.*

L. C. You did.

Cel. *I did not.*

L. Chan. You did, we have it under your hand.

Cellier. If I did, I desire to see my hand, — Then a Letter was produced, being a Copy of one of mine. — *Sir Tho. Doleman* read it, (and by Head and Shoulders thrust in these Words, Send *Margaret* into the Country) I desired to see the Letter, but they refus'd it. Then I own'd I

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did write such a Letter as that was without those words—but that I had neither seen, sent to, nor heard from Margaret since Midsummer.

L. Chan. This is very strange you can remember every word of a Letter, but what you should remember.

Cel. My Lord, my Lord, I can remember any thing I did, but not what I never did,

Lord President. You writ it when you were asleep.

Cel. No, my Lord, I am no Noct-ambler.

L. Chan. Did you write to nobody else?

Cel. Yes, to my Son and Daughter.

L. Chan. To nobody else?

Cel. Yes, to Mr. Gadbury.

L. Chan. What did you write to him?

Cel. Am I obliged to remember every Word I write?

L. Chan. No, but the sense of it.

Cel. I called him friend, and told him his last Visit would make me always esteem him so. I know I am the talk of the Town; but what do the Fudicious say of me, for it is that I value, and not the prate of the Rabble? Are all my Summer friends flown? Is my Knight against me too? When will *Jupiter* come into *Gemini*?

L. Chan. What do you expect from *Jupiters* coming into *Gemini*? do you think that Catholick Religion shall be restored!

Cel. No, my Lord, I have no reason to think so, But the Planets are now in Bestial reptal Signs, and produce semblable effects, but when that benign Star comes into *Gemini*, which is a Humane Sign, I hope the Nation will return to their Wits, for I think they are all mad now.

A Lord. Mrs. Cellier, how long has Mr. Gadbury been a Catholick?

Cel. He is not one I think, I'm sure I never took him for one, nor ever heard he was.

L. Chan. What Religion is he of, can you tell?

Cel. My Lord, I always thought him to be a Church of England man.

L. Chan. Come Mr. Gadbury, you said you did not speak in Astrological terms to Women, But Mrs. Celier has told you all.

Gadbury. My Lord, She can say no harm of me, if she tell Truth.

Cel. Mr. Gadbury, I neither said, nor know any evil of you, I only said you feared the Kingdom would never be quiet till Jupiter came into *Gemini*.

Then he was commanded to withdraw.

Gadbury kneeling down said, I beseech you let my close Confinement be taken off.

A Lord. No, you deny'd the Truth to us.

Gadbury. I hope your Lordship will not call such a thing as this is the denial of the Truth.

Withdraw, withdraw Mr. Gadbury.

A Lord. Are you with Child Mrs. Cellier?

Cel. Truly, my Lord, I know not certainly.

Same Lord. You say so in your Letter, and that it will keep you from any stricter examination.

Cel. No my Lord, I have no reason to think so, this is a time in which no Compassion is shewn to Sex, Age, nor Condition.

Then

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Then the Lord Chancellor wav'd the Discourse.

Same Lord. Do you know one Mr. Phillips, Mrs Cellier, that you writ of, and desir'd to go out of Town?

Cel. I know one Mrs. Phillips an Upholsterer, but I know no reason I have to desire her to go out of Town.

Ld. But you did write to her to go out of Town.

Cel. Did I not write for every one to go out of Town, I refer my self to the Letter, and desire it may be read?

L. Chan. No, no. And so put off the Discourse.

Same Lord. Do you know my Lord Shaftsbury, Mrs. Cellier? Or have you seen him lately?

Cel. My Lord, I have been with him lately; and (if you please) I will tell you the occasion. In April last Sir W. Waller was very busie about my House, insomuch as I was forc'd to leave it, and I (having a desire to be quiet at home) writ the state of my Case to my Lord Shaftsbury, and pray'd his Favour; He bid the person that carried the Letter, send Sir W. Waller to him; and from that time I had no further trouble, till about ten or twelve days before Dangerfield was taken. He told me that my Name was enter'd into Sir W. Waller's Black Bill, and he would search my House that Week, and therefore he advis'd me to write again to the Earl of Shaftsbury, I told him I durst not presume to do that, but I would go to his Lordship, and thank him for the former favour, and pray a continuance of it, and desired him to go with me, because being known in the House, as he said; and might the easier bring me to speak with his Lordship.

Dangerfield. Madam, I cannot at all advantage your Cause, but injure it, for I have told my Lord Lies, and have been catch'd in them; but if you please to let the Coach drive close to the Gate, and ask for Mr. Shepard, and desire him to bring you to the Figure of one, he will bring you to his Lordship.

I did so that very night, and after I had thank'd his Lordship for his former Favour, and intreated him that I might not be troubled with Sir W. Waller, he answered me,

Madam, I am for the propagation of the Protestant Faith; yet, because I think you an excellent Woman, though of another Religion, I promise you I will do you all the good I can.

I thank'd his Lordship, and took my leave.

Upon this I was commanded to withdraw.

Three or four days after I was brought before their Lordships again.

L. — Turn up your Hoods Mrs. Cellier.

L. Chan. Come Mrs. Cellier, we have found Margaret, and she has told us all, the Truth comes out for all your cunning.

Cel. She can say no Evil of me, unless she bely me: Besides, she is no lawful Witneß, for she was my Servant, and turned away in Disgrace, and if she accuse me of any thing, it is the effect of her Malice.

Then

Then *Margaret* was call'd in.

L. Chan. Come *Margaret*, this is strange, that whilst you liv'd with Mrs. *Cellier* you could see nothing but Vertue and Goodness by her, and she can tell so much Thieving, and other ill things of you.

Margaret. She may say what she pleases of me, but I will not wrong her.

Cellier. *Margaret* you know we did lose a Spoon, and some other things.

Margaret. Yes, but then you thought another had them.

Cel. Yes, and I think so still, but being told you accuse me, I must defend my self as well as I can.

L. Chan. Nay *Margaret*, we like you never the worse for her speaking against you, and if you will tell us any thing of her, we will believe you.

Margaret. I know nothing but what I have told you.

L. Chan. Go *Margaret*, consider of it, and remember what you can against you come again.

Cellier. *Margaret* have a care what you do, lest you foul your hands with innocent Blood.

L. Chan. Hark, She tutors her before us.

Cellier. Truth may be spoken at all times and places.

Soon after this, Sir W. Waller came to the Prison again, wheedling, and proffered his Service to help me to make a Discovery; I answered him after the former rate.

Sir Will. I wonder how you, that have such a fine curious House to Live in, can endure to stay here, and may so easily go out, and be repaired all your Losses with advantage.

Cellier. *Sir Wil.* I value not my Losses for my Life, I'll stay here this twenty Years, rather than Lie my self to Liberty. I am Prisoner for Truth sake, and that Cause, and the joy I have to suffer for it, makes this Dirty, Smoaky Hole to me a Pallace, adorned with all the Ornaments Imagination can think upon; and I assure you, This is the most pleasant Time of my whole Life, for I have thrown off all care of Earthly things, and have nothing to do but to serve God.

Sir Will. But for all your obstinance, you will be weary of staying here e'er long, and perhaps put into a more rigorous Confinement.

Cel. Have you ever a place to put me in, where God is not?

Sir Will. No, he is every where.

Cel. Is he so, then do your worst, I defie you all, and him that sets you on.

Sir Will. Why are you so angry Mrs. *Cellier*? I came hither to serve you.

Cel. I desire none of your Service, and I cannot be angry with such a Man as you are.

Sir Will. I protest I have as much respect for you, as if you were my Sister, and had rather take your counsel, than any Woman's I know.

Cel. I'll assure you Sir William I will never take yours. Pray speak to His Majesty I may be tryed.

Sir Will. You had better stay, for if you be tryed, you'll certainly be put to death.

Cel.

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Cel. Thanks be to God, you must neither be Judge nor Fury-man; but I'll venture that, and bring myself to the Bar the first day of the next Term.

Sir Will. You must not be tryed there, you must be tryed at the Old Bayly.

Cel. If his Majesty bring me upon my Tryal, He may try me where He pleases; but if I bring myself to it, it must be at the Kings-Bench Bar.

Sir Will. You are deceived, you cannot.

Cel. But I can, and will to.

Sir Will. I'll tell his Majesty what you say.

Cel. Pray do, for I desire it.

Sir Will. Well, I see you are an obstinate woman, and do not understand your own good; I'll come no more to you.

Cel. I care not for your Company, therefore pray stay away; and tell Truth Once in your Life.

As he was upon the Stairs going down, I call'd to the Maid to bring me some Beer, and he was willing to believe I called him, and ran up in great haste, asking through the Door if I had bethought my self of any thing he could do to serve me.

Cel. No Sir Will. I am not such a Distressed Damosel to use your Service. For as the Devil can do harm, but not good; so, though you have put me in, yet it is not in your power to fetch me out of this enchanted Castle, but I shall come out e'er long to a Glorious Death, or an Honourable Life, both which are indifferent to me, blessed be God.

After this I was no more troubled with him.

That night the Duke of Monmouth came to Town from Holland I was fetched before the Council in great haste, having now learn'd to turn up my Hoods without bidding.

L. Chan. Come Mrs. Cellier, we hear of your zeal.

Cel. It is a Virtue to be zealous My Lord.

L. Chan. The Truth comes out by little and little, we shall know all.

Cel. My Lord I wish all the truth were known, and then I should go home to my own House.

L. Chan. When were you in Flanders?

Cel. Never.

L. Chan. You were.

Cel. I never was out of England.

L. Chan. Do you know one Mr. Adams?

Cel. What Mr. Adams does your Lordship mean?

L. Chan. Mr. Adams, a Commissioner of the Statute of Bankrupt.

Cel. Yes, I know him well, he sent John-a-Nokes to Prison, and thereupon was put out of Commission.

L. Chan. Has he done you any personal injury?

Cel. Only helpt to cheat me of five Hundred Pounds.

L. Chan. Nothing else?

Cel. No my Lord, but I'll assure you he did that.

L. Chan. You were at the Devil-Tavern with him and Dangerfield the 24th of September, and said there was no Plot but a Presbyterian

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Plot

Plot and that it would appear so in a Month, you tim'd it well, for just then your *Intrigue* was found out.

Cel. *My Lord I was at the Devil-Tavern, but not within three weeks of the time you mention.*

L. Chan. You were there at that time, and said you were just come from *Flanders* and drank the Duke of *York's* Health in a Beer-glass of *Claret*, and would not let Mr. *Adams* drink, unless he nam'd the Health.

Cel. *Indeed my Lord that was ill done, for there was not a drop of Claret.*

L. C. But you drank the Duke's Health.

Cel. *Pray my Lord what crime is it?*

L. C. It is none.

Cel. *Then I hope there's no Punishment.*

L. C. Here is nothing to be done with her, call Mr. *Adams*.

He was called in, and his *Wife* *Depositions* read.

Cel. *My Lord, of all this fine Story there is nothing true, but that I was at the Tavern, but it was three weeks before the time he mentioned, and I did Pledge the D's Health, and say, I believed there was a Plot among the Presbyterians, to play their old Game over again, but I hoped God would bless the King and his Royal Brother, and that their Affairs would go well, and God would destroy their Enemies, and send quiet Times.*

Adams. She did say she had been beyond Sea, and Mr. *Petty* will swear she said she had been in *Flanders*.

Cel. *If I did say so, I lyed.*

L. Presid. If you Lyed then, how shall we know you tell Truth now?

Cel. *My Lord, there is a great deal of difference between what I say at a Tavern, to a Man of his Understanding, and what I say here, where every Word ought to be equal to an Oath.*

Adams. Your bawdy Story I left out of the *Depositions*, I was ashamed to speak it.

King. What, can she speak Bawdy too?

Adams. Yes, indeed she did.

L. C. I, she's fit for any thing.

Cel. *My Lord, I never spoke an immodest word in my Life. Mr. Adams though you strive to take away my Life, do not take away my Honour; What did I say?*

King. What did she say? come tell us the Story.

Adams. She said — She said — that — She said — That if she did not lose her Hands, she could get Money as long as —

King. As long as what? out with it.

Adams made as if he were ashamed, and could not speak such a word.

Cel. *I said, if I did not lose my Hands, I should get Money as long as Men kissed their Wives.*

Adams. By the Oath I have taken she said their Mistresses too.

Cel. Did I so, pray what else do they keep them for?

L. Chan. That was but witty.

King. 'Twas but natural to her Practice.

Cel. *Mr. Adams I am sorry for your Ignorance, — I beseech your Majesty let me be enlarged.*

L. Chan. You are an obstinate Woman, and will tell us nothing we ask you.

Cel. *My Lord, I tell Truth to all you ask.*

L. Chan.

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L. C. Here's no body believes you, you will trifle away your Life.

Cel. *My Lord, I will not belye my self nor others to save it, but I will assure your Lordships, never man that came before you, feared Death, nor valued Life less than I do.*

L. C. I, she's fit for them, *Withdraw, Withdraw.*

After that I was fetcht up once or twice again, but do not remember for what ; --- Then they let me alone till the 9th of January, and then Captain Richardson went up with me, and by the way told me, That if now I would make an ingenious Confession I might be enlarged, and the Truth found out : I answered, I knew nothing of all they asked me, nor ever answered any thing but the Truth, they do not look for Treason in the right place, but when they do, they may find enough.

Capt. Richardson. But if you know any thing you are bound to tell it.

Cel. *I am only obliged to answer Truth to such questions as I am asked, and the Lord Chancellor told me he would not believe a word I said, and I do not believe a word of the whole Plot further than that the Presbyterians are playing over their old Game again.*

Capt. Richardson. Well I see it is impossible to perswade you to Reason.

Cel. *I never yet could see a Reason for lying.*

When I came before the Council they spoke not a word of the old matter, but questioned me concerning Sir Robert Peyton then present ; I told the Truth, as I would have done long before if they asked it ; and desired Pen, Ink and Paper to recollect my Memory, and to see my Husband before a Keeper, which the King said was but reasonable, and bid make an Order for it, which was done, yet the Keeper would never let me see him in 11 or 12 weeks that I was confined after that, but one quarter of an hour ; Yet to give him his due, he was as civil (to me, as the strictness of my confinement would admit of,) and his Wife also, all the time I was in their own House.

January 11th. I sent in my Depositions, being all I then could remember, but they would not let me have Paper to take a Copy of them, but Truth can never be forgotten.

January 15, 16, or 17th. I was brought before a Committee of Lords, and they asked me many Trepanning Questions to insnare me.

Then Mr. Gadbury was called in, and his Depositions read, to which I only answered.

Cel. *Mr. Gadbury I remember nothing of all this, but I confess I am the unfortunate cause of your Trouble, and if by ruining me you can ease your self, I give you free leave.*

Then a Lord told me there was Treason sworn against me, but I might yet save my self if I would, for they did not Thirst for my Blood.

Cel. *I am glad to hear your Lordship say so, for I am so simple I judge by appearances, which are quite otherwise.*

Then Dangerfield was called in, and asked if I did not set him on to make a Mutiny at the Rainbow Coffee-House.

Dangerfield. My Lord, I cannot say she set me on.

Cel. *Was not I angry with you for it, and bid you be gone out of my House? and caused you to be removed up into the Garret.*

Dang.

Dangerfield. No, that was afterwards.

Cel. But it was for that Cause.

A Lord. Do you know any thing of a walk that was upon *Tower-Wharf*? tell us the Truth for you are upon your Oath.

Cel. I have often walked upon it, for I lived there by.

A Lord. We mean a walk with the Lord Chief Justice, and offering Ten Thousand Pounds concerning Sir *George Wakeman*, tell us the Truth, for the Countess of *Powis* has told us all.

Cel. Yes, my Lord, I read it in a Pamphlet.

Dangerfield. I do believe it was in a Pamphlet.

Cel. There was two, and you brought them both to me.

A Lord. Do you remember any more concerning Sir *Robert Peyton*?

Cel. Nothing that is fit to tell at this time.

A Lord. She will not tell the Kings Privy Council what she knows.

Cel. Not at this time,---at which Answer they were very angry, and asked me some sparing Questions concerning my self, but I have forgot what it was, yet remember that I answered thus.

Cel. My Lord, I am not obliged to Answer that Question; your Lordships are none of my Judges, I appeal to my equal Judges, Twelve Commons of England in a Court of Judicature, let them that desire my life, assault it there, and though I cannot defend it like a man, yet I will not part with it in complement to your Lordships, and I desire to be tryed as soon as may be.

A Lord. Your Tryal will come soon enough, you will be put to death.

Cel. Blessed be God, then I hope the Play is near an end, for Tragedies whether real or fictitious, seldom end before the Women die.

A Lord. What do you make a Play of it?

Cel. If there be no more Truth in the whole Story, than there is in what relates to me, every Play that is Acted has more Truth in it.

A Lord. You talk very peremptorily.

Cel. My Lord, I think God Death is no terror to me, and she that fears not to die, cannot fear to speak Truth.

A Lord. Withdraw, withdraw, Mrs. Cellier.

Cel. Before I go, I will tell you something of Sir *Robert Peyton*; he told me, that though the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was out of the Council, yet his power was as great as ever, for he had a strong Party there, and he knew all Transactions as soon as the Council rose, for he had a Nephew there, and there was a person always ready at his House, to run away with Intelligence of what passed at Council to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*.

A Lord said that was very like, how else should the Examinations taken there come to the Press so soon? some of Mr. *Gadburies* that were taken but a day or two before, lying there in Print upon the Table.

Then one of the Lords seeming to wonder his Lordships Nephew was not there, commanded me to withdraw.

Both in January and February, I sent in the following Petition, but could not possibly get it read, though I sent 5 or 6, and in the whole time of my Confinement, my Husband carried near 20, but they were still suppressed.

The

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To the Kings most Excellent Majesty, and the Right Honourable
the Lords of his Majesties Privy Counsel.

The Humble Petition of *Elizabeth Cellier* close Prisoner in *Newgate*,
Sheweth,

THAT Your Petitioner hath been thirteen Weeks close confin'd, and she
having had the management of her Husband's Estate, with that of two
Fatherless Children; The most considerable Estate of which depends upon
Process at Law, and is to be try'd this next Term, and they are wholly Ig-
norant of their Affairs.

*Wherefore your Petitioner doth most humbly Pray and Beseech your Majesty
and the Honourable the Lords of the Counsel, that she may be Inlarged, or
permitted to speak to her Husband and Children before a Keeper, to advise
them how to proceed in their Suit, and thereby prevent their ruine.*

And your Petitioner shall pray

My Husband put in several Petitions to the same effect, but could get no
Answer, inasmuch that he was forc'd to release *Seven Hundred and odd Pounds
for Sixty one*; A good Part of which Money lay in Court of Chancery, and
the Master of the Rolls had made *A decretal Order for us*, but the Defendant
petitioning for another hearing, my Husband and Children not being per-
mitted to speak with me, *knew not which way to defend themselves.*

There I lay close confin'd, till the first of *April*, though my Husband daily
solicited for my enlargement. But about that time, (being dangerously sick)
I was allow'd the Liberty of the *Press-Yard*.

Sometime in *February*, I was brought again before a Committee of Council.

A Lord. Mrs. Cellier, do you know one Mr. Pen, a Quaker?

Cel. *I never see him but once.*

Lord. Did you not write to him, and give him thanks for making so good
use of the Paper you sent him?

Cel. *Yes, My Lord, I did so.*

Lord. Do you use to write to Men you know not?

Cel. *If your Lordships please to have Patience, I will tell you the occasion of it.*

About the beginning of May last, 6 Copies of a Paper call'd the *Danby* Reflecti-
ons were left at my House, by an unknown Person, with a Note, desiring me to
put them into understanding mens hands.

I went to Fox Hall, and made a strict Inquisition into the matter, and found
by the affirmation of many Persons, that that part of the Story was very true,
and I thought I had no other reason to doubt the Truth of the rest, and having heard
Mr. Pen plead in the Cause of New Jersey, at Sir John Churchill's chamber,
before the Duke's Commissioners, and observ'd that he was a man of a great deal
of Reason, I thought I could not better comply with the desire of the Author, than
to send him one.

Lord. What made you so earnest to speak with him?

Cel. *I heard it abroad by the name of Pen's Paper, and found it spread much.*

Lord. What had you to say to him?

Cel. *Something relating to the same matter, I suppose, but I have forgot what,
for it is 9 or 10 months ago.*

Lord. What did you with the rest?

Cel. *I gave one to my Lady Powis, another to Mr. Henry Nevil. I sent one
I into*

into France, another into Flanders, and got the other coppied, and sent as many as I could get to my Friends and Acquaintance.

Lord. You have been very zealous for the Cause.

Cel. My Lord, It is good to be diligent in all that one undertakes.

Which answer was the last I had opportunity to make to any in Authority until my Arraignment, which (in confidence of my own Innocence) I continually prest for.

Not but that I knew the danger, as to this Life, of encountering the Devil in the worst of his Instruments, which are *PERJURERS INCOURAGED* to that degree as that profligate Wretch was, and has been since his being exposed to the World in his true colours both at mine, and at anothers Tryal.

But the Sence that all I had done, or endeavoured to do, was prompted by a *Disinterested Loyalty to the King, and Charity to Innocence oppress'd*, without the least mixture of Mallice to any Creature breathing, *Made me with hopes expect the worst those Devils incarnate could do unto me.*

And if any thing in the World could give a probable Light where the true Plot is manag'd, mine, and my accusers Cases would do it.

For *Singly and Alone*, without the Advice or Assistance of any Catholick breathing, *Man or Woman*, I was left to study, manage, and to support my self in all my troubles to my Expence and Loss *much above a thousand Pounds*, never receiving one penny towards it, directly or indirectly, but ten pounds given me by the hands of a condemn'd Priest, five days before my Tryal; nor have I sincerereceived any thing towards my Losses, or the least civility from any of them.

Whilst *Dangerfield* (when made a Prisoner for apparent *Recorded Rogueries*) was visited by and from Persons of considerable Quality, with great Sums of Gold and Silver, to encourage him in the *new Villanies* he had undertaken, not against Me alone, but Persons in whose Safety all good Men (*as well Protestants as others*) in the three Kingdoms are concern'd.

For I hope no reasonable man can believe me so vain, as to think my Life or Fame worth the consideration of an *Industrious Faction*.

Thus have I laid open the Truth of my Case, to be believed or not believed, as Reason, Sence, and Probability shall guide Men.

And as to my own Sex, I hope they will pardon the Errors of my Story, as well as those bold Attempts of mine that occasion'd it, since in what I meddled with, as to Sir *Robert Peyton and others* (that are yet among them undiscovered like *Husbai*, and I hope will have as good success to confound the crafty Contrivances of all the old *Achitophels*, and the *Headstrong Ambitious Practices of young Absalom*) though it may be thought too Masculine, yet was it the effects of my Loyal (more than Religious) Zeal to gain Protestants to his Service.

And in all my defence, none can truly say but that I preserv'd the Modesty, though not the Timorousness common to my Sex. And I believe there is none, but had they been in my Station, would, to their power, have acted like me; for it is more our business than mens to fear, and consequently to prevent the Tumults and Troubles Factions tend too, since we by nature are hindered from sharing any part but the Frights and Disturbances of them. Which that God will long preserve these three Kingdoms from, is the daily Prayers of

Elizabeth Cellier.

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A N

Abstract of the T R Y A L O F

Elizabeth Cellier.

Upon the 30th of April (80.) I was Arraigned at the Kings-Bench Bar, before the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs, for High-Treason.

Cl. of the Crown. What sayst thou Eliz. Cellier, art thou Guilty, or not Guilty?

Cel. Not Guilty.

C. C. Culprit. how wilt Thou be Tryed?

Cel. By God and my Country,

C. C. God send thee a good Deliverance.

Cel. My Lord, I am safe in my own Innocence (as far as Innocency can make any person safe,) but since the most Innocent may be sworn out of their lives, I desire time to send for my Witnesses, some of which live very far off.

L. C. Just. How long time will you have? till next Term?

Cel. No my Lord, I desire but a fortnight; which was Granted, and I remanded back to Prison, that day I sent the following Petition to the Attorney General.

To the Honourable Sir *Creswell Levins*, his Majesties Attorney General

The Humble Petition of *Elizabeth Cellier*.

Sheweth,

THAT your Petitioner is to have her Tryal at the Bar of His Majesties Court of Kings-Bench, for High Treason, the 14 of this Instant May.

Your Petitioner Humbly beseeches, that you will please to let her know, or otherwise to order the Clerk of the Crown to give her to understand, whether she is Indicted at Common Law, or upon any Statute, and what Statute, and that she may likewise have a Copy of Mr. Dangerfields last Pardon from his Majesty; as also Subpœna's for her Witnesses, That she may be some wayes enabled to make her Defence.

And your Petitioner shall Pray,
Eliz. Cellier.

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Mr. Attorney answered, that I was Indicted upon the Statute of the 25 of Edward III. and might have as many *Subpœna's* as I would at the *Crown-Office*; but he knew nothing of *Dangerfield's Pardon*.

Then I petitioned the Lord Chancellor for a Copy of the Pardon, and his Lordship was pleased to Grant it.

May the 14. I was again brought to the Bar in Order to my Tryal, but Mr. Gadbury being Sick, (of which Oath was made by a learned Physitian that had Visited him) the Kings Council desired to put off the Tryal, but I prayed to be Tried then, or some day that Term; And said, That I would bring my self thither, the last day of the Term, and hoped that according to the Law, I should be Tried or Discharged.

L. C. J. That will do you little good, for there is a Proviso in the Act, if the Kings Witnesses be not sick.

Cel. My Lord what if they will never be well?

L. C. J. You shall be Tried the next Term, it is but a little while to it.

Cel. My Lord, my Husband will think it a great while; at which the Court laugh'd.

Cel. My Lord, he hath a great cause to think it long for he is already a Thousand pounds the worse for my Imprisonment; I have lain two and twenty weeks close confin'd, During which time my Husband put in near 20 Petitions before the Lords of the Council, to speak with me before a Keeper; but they were all reject-ed: and he had then a suit in Chancery to a considerable value, which had been heard before the Master of the Rolls, and he had made a Decretal Order for us, and a good part of the Money lay in the Court of Chancery, but my Adversary taking Advantage of my confinement, Petitioned for another Hearing; and my Husband not knowing how to defend the Cause, was forced to discharge seven hundred and odd pounds, for sixty one, because he could not be permitted to speak with me.

L. C. J. You arraign the Council.

Cel. No, my Lord it is not to Arraign them, but to make it known how I have been used, and pray redress.

Serj. Maynard. Why could not your Husband follow his Law-Suit without you?

Cel. Because he is a Stranger, and does not understand the Law.

Serj. Maynard. Then you do Gentlewoman.

Cel. No Sir, but I have got enough to make a Country Justice, and pray that I may be tryed, And if I be Guilty, punished; and if Innocent, acquitted. And that my Husband and Children may not suffer as they do by my Imprisonment.

L. C. J. You shall be tryed the first day of the next Term, and it is in compassion to you that we appoint that day.

Cel. My Lord shall I be discharged, if I be not Tried then?

L. C. J. You shall.

Cel. My Lord, the Laws I am to be Tried by, have sufficiently compensated their denying me other Council, by allowing me you my Lords that are my Judges, for Councillors, and I will depend upon your Faithful advice with confidence, and humbly pray fair play for my life.

Judges. You shall have fair play.

Cel. I thank your Lordships.

L. C. J. Keeper of Newgate, take her back, and use her with respect.

June the 11th. (80) I was again brought to the Bar, and the Indictment read,

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read, and the effect of it was for consulting, and expending Money for carrying on the Plot to kill the King, raise War in the Realm, and introduce Popery, and for endeavouring to cast the Plot upon others, and for employing *Dangerfield* to kill the King, and upbraiding him for losing an Opportunity, &c.

Cel. *My Lord, for saving the time of the Court, I pray that no Gentleman that has been on any of the former Juries, and found the Indictment against any of them that lately had the like accusation, may be sworn against me* (And in regard a great part of my Charge is for endeavouring to throw the Popish Plot upon the Presbyterians) *therefore I except against all those that had not lately taken the Sacrament, as Persons that cannot be indifferent.*

L. C. J. Mrs. Cellier, this cannot be allow'd, you must make your exceptions.

Cel. *My Lord, the Jury ought to be chose out of the unconcern'd Neighbourhood, and every Dissenter from the Church of England is a party against whom the Fact is said to be committed, therefore none but Church of England men ought to be of my Jury.*

L. C. J. Mrs. Cellier, make your exceptions. Which I did, and excepted against several that had been on the former Juries, yet admitted of Sir *Philip Matthews*, and others, telling them they looked like honest men, and I believ'd they would do me no wrong.

The Jury are as follows.

Sir *Philip Matthews*, Baronet.

Sir *John Munster*.

Thomas Harriot, Esq;

John Foster, Esq;

Richard Cheney, Esq;

Edward Draper, Esq;

Edward Wilford, Esq;

John Roberts, Esq;

Hugh Squire, Esq;

Thomas Eaglefield, Esq;

George Read, Esq;

Richard Parrot, Esq;

The Jury being sworn, the Kings Council called the Witnesses, and first Mr. *Gadbury*, who attested that he knew not a tittle of the Plot one way or other, except what he heard by Common Report, and read in the Prints, nor of any design I had against the Life of the King; but acknowledges that he was Privy to; and active in bringing over Sir *Robert Peyton* to the Kings interest, (at the said Sir *Robert's* request) and to bring Sir *Robert* to kiss his Royal-Highness's hand by my means; and said, That I did always express my self with all Duty and Loyalty; and that I told him I had carried the names of four Gentlemen, Sir *Roberts* Friends to the Duke, in hopes that if they were put into Commission of the Peace, it might conduce much to the breaking the measures of the Factious. And Mr. *Gadbury* further Declared that one *Smith* formerly a School-master at *Ilington*, and another Gentleman with him came to him, and desired his Advice about going to the Lords in the *Tower*, pretending he could declare strange things against Mr. *Oats*, which might prove advantageous to them.

In order to *Indicting him for Perjury*, which he said I was forward to promote, and said, that I did not care if I were at Ten Pounds Charge to have it effected, but he said he refus'd to advise Mr. *Smith* to concern him himself either with Mr. *Oats*, or the Lords.

He further aver'd, that I told him I heard *Dangerfield* talk of a *Non-confor-*
mist

miss Plot, and how he frequented their Clubs; and had so far insinuated into the favour of some of them, that he was promised a Commission among them, and that several Commissions were given out already. After that, Mr. *Gadbury* being interrogated by the Attorney General, to several passages signified in an Attestation which he himself had drawn up for the Privy Council, which seemed more to affect me than any thing he had hitherto said, shewing the same unto him, which when he had perus'd, he did own to be his hand-writing; and said, That what was contained therein was true, but when he wrote the same, he confessed that he raked up all that ever he could against me, aggravating every Circumstance to the utmost, and that by that reason when he was in Prison, some person or persons whom he did not name to avoid reflections, Threatned him with Hanging, &c. And that they told him two Witnesses had sworn Treason positively against him, and that I now accus'd him, and made a third; and he knowing I must swear false, as the rest had done, and being Menac'd as before, Drew up the said Accusation against me, aggravating the several expressions therein, in hopes thereby to lessen my Evidence against him, and thereby to save himself.

Then he was again interrogated, whether I did not tell him I hoped to see *Westminster Abby* full of *Benedictine Monks*, and the *Temple* with *Fryers*: he answered, That his sufferings had very much weakned his Memory, but as far as he remembred, I did not speak of any hope, but believes it was thus, What if you should see *Westminster Abby* filled with *Monks* again? and that this was in ordinary Discourse as they pass'd through the *Abby* together; And that he looked upon those Words to be no way maliciously spoken, nor regarded it further than common Discourse.

Serjeant Maynard. What Religion are you of?

Gadbury. A Protestant according to the Church of *England*.

Serj. Maynard. Such Protestants do more harm than Papists.

Gad. Sir, I am neither Papist nor Presbyterian, nor was I any of the Tribe of *Forty One*.

Then he went on with his Evidence, saying, That when the King was Sick at *Windsor*, I asked him whether he thought his Majesty would live or dye, supposing as he thought that he might have taken some notice of the effect by observing the beginning of the Distemper; but says, That I did not desire him to erect a Scheme for that purpose, nor to Calculate the Kings Nativity, and that he believes I had talked at this rate five or six times, *always expressing great fears of his Majesties Death, and the Troubles that may thereupon arise through the restless Malice of the turbulent Faction Party*, and that he with as great Trouble told me, he durst not presume to Judge of such and so weighty an Affair as that was.

But that he remembers he Calculated a persons Nativity for me, to know whether he would be just to me in gathering in such Debts as were due to my Husband who was a *French Merchant*; And that from thence he caution'd me to beware of him, but that he knew not the said person was *Dangerfield*, till he came before the Counsel, bringing onely the time and Place of his Birth, without making any mention of his Name, but that the said *Dangerfield* thence took occasion to swear him into the acquaintance of the Countess of *Powis*, and several *Honourable Lords*, whose Faces he never saw.

This was the substance of Mr. *Gadbury's* Evidence.

L. C. J. Brother you are mistaken in your Evidence.

Att.

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Att. Gen. We are in this, but I hope we shall not be mistaken in others.

Then *Dangerfield* was call'd in.

Cel. My Lord, I except against his Evidence, as a person that has not the Qualifications the Law requires in Witnesses of Treason, and I pray that I may be heard to prove it, and that the Court will protect my Witnesses from his Insolence, for the last time I stood here in order to my Tryal, he struck one of them here in presence of His Majesty, in the Face of the Court, and threatned to kill others; if they appear'd again.

L. C. J. Have you Witnesses of this?

Cel. Yes my Lord, I will offer nothing to the Court, but what I will prove by Witnesses and Records. And to do this, I have taken of a few of the Records of his many Crimes, and but a few, because I would not be chargeable to my Husband, or troublesome to the Court. I have but Thirteen.

Judge. A pretty Company.

L. C. J. Go on then.

Cel. Call Mr. Pearson. He appear'd. I pray'd he might be sworn.

L. C. J. That may not be against the King.

Cel. My Lord it is not against the King, for the King is as much concern'd to preserve me if I be Innocent, as to punish me if I am Guilty.

And by the Statute of the Fourth of King James, it is ordered that persons accus'd shall have Witnesses produc'd upon Oath, for his better Clearing and Justification. And the Lord Cook says, That he never read in any Act of Parliament, Author, Book, Case, nor ancient Record, that in criminal Cases, the Party accus'd should not have sworn Witnesses: And therefore there is not a spark of Law against it. And the Lord Cook dyed but lately; and if there was no Law against it then, I desire to know by what Law it is now denyed me; for the common Law cannot be altered. And I pray your Lordships, being of Counsel for me, that you will not suffer anything to be urged against me contrary to Law, but that my Witnesses may be sworn, or Counsel assign'd me; to that Point of Law.

A Judge. What would you have Counsel for? This does not affect you yet. Go on.

Cel. Mr. Pearson, pray tell the Court how *Dangerfield* us'd you the last time I was here.

Pearson. I stood in the Hall, and he came and asked me how I durst Subpœna any man and not tell him for what, and struck me on the Arm.

Judge. Did he so?

Cel. Call Mr. Barrard: He appear'd, and testified the same.

Cel. My Lord, Witnesses for Treason ought to be Honest, Sufficient, Lawful, and Credible; And I will prove that he hath been Burnt in the Hand, Whip'd, Transported, Pillorie'd, Out-law'd for Felony, Fin'd for Cheating, and suffer'd publick Infamy for many other notorious Crimes.

Mr. Clements, bring the London Record. He produc'd it.

Judge. Can you swear this is a true Copy.

Clem. Yes my Lord, I examin'd it. Then he was sworn, and the Clark read the Record, which shew'd, That in the 25th. Year of his Majestie's Reign he was Convict of Felony at the Old Baily, for stealing a Tortoise-shell Cabinet, and ten pieces of old Gold, out of the House of Robert Blagrave, and being asked what he had to say for himself, that Judgment should not pass upon him, according to Law? He said he was a Clark, and desir'd the benefit

fit of the Book, which was granted; and he read, and was (according to Law) *Burnt in the Hand*.

A Judge. Can you prove he is the man?

Cel. Call Mr. Ralph Briscom. He appeared, and testified that he was the Man, and he saw him *Burnt in the Hand*.

Cel. Call Captain Richardson. He appeared, and testified the same. Then *Dangerfield* offer'd to go away. One of the Judges call'd to him, and ask'd him whither he went? a Lawyer answer'd, to fetch his *Pardon*, for he was come without it.

LCJ. Make hast then.

Then there arose a Question among the Judges, whether *Felony* was sufficient to take away his Evidence, his Clergy having restor'd him? And an excellent Discourse pass'd amongst them upon that Subject, but I cannot remember the particulars so well as to insert it here. One of the King's Counsel alledged that he was made a good Witness by his Pardon.

Cel. My Lord, He is not Pardon'd Felonies, Burglaries, nor Forgeries; And I will prove him convict of all these, and the King cannot give An Act of Grace to one Subject, to the prejudice of another, as this Pardon will be to me, if this prodigious Villain be thereby made a good Witness to take away my Life; Nor doth his Pardon include his Crimes. Then I produc'd a Copy of his Pardon, but remembring I was not oblig'd to believe that he had a Pardon, till he himself had produc'd it, I call'd for it back again, then the Court went off the Cause, and heard motions, but Dangerfield staying long, they began to examine Witnesses on his behalf.

First, *Thomas Williamson* was call'd. Who said he knew nothing of my treating with *Dangerfield*, nor ever saw us together, but that he was imploy'd in busineses of Charity by me, to get Prisoners out, and *Dangerfield* among the rest.

Mr. Scarlet was call'd, and said he turn'd him over to the Bench, and I paid for his *Habeas Corpus*.

Bennet Duddle was call'd.

He attested, that he had often seen *Dangerfield* and I together in the Gallery at *Powis-House*, and had seen us write, but he knew not what.

William Woodman was call'd.

And said, he had carried Letters for me to the Tower and else-where, but none for *Dangerfield*.

An Blake was call'd.

Who attested, that I sent her to *Dangerfield* in *New-gate*, and that he cry'd and pray'd her to speak to me to send him *six Pounds*, and that she return'd to him and told him *I would send him none*. Then *Dangerfield* told her he had been rack'd, and expected worse usage that night, and that she should be forc'd to turn Rogue, and ruin us all.

And that if he did not turn Rogue he should be hang'd, And that I bid her hide the Papers, saying they were *Dangerfields*, and might do him good, and she put them into the *MEAL-TUB*.

Then *Margaret Jenkins* was call'd.

And said, she saw *Dangerfield* in *New-gate*, in Irons, very poor, that he told her he had eaten nothing in two dayes, that she carried him half a Crown, and another time five Shillings; and after that, Money to pay his Fees; and that she saw him in the Bench.

Att.

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Att. Gen. Did you not carry Letters between them?

Margaret. Yes, but knew not what was in them.

Att. Gen. Did you not carry two Vials of *Opium* to him?

Mar. I carri'd 2 Vials which he sent for, but I know not what was in them.

L.C.J. Who sent for them?

Mar. *Dangerfield* sent a Note for them to Mr. *Blafedal*, and when I brought them to him he tasted of them, and set them up in his room.

Judge. Who tasted of them? *Mar. Dangerfield* did.

Att. Gen. Did you ever see Mrs. *Cellier* in the Bench with him?

Mar. No, I never did.

Att. Gen. Did you ever see them together at *Powis-House*?

Mar. Yes, once at Dinner, and once at Supper.

L.C.J. Was any body with them?

Mar. Yes, once her Husband, and the other time three Gentlewomen.

Att. Gen. What do you know concerning *Stroud*?

Mar. She bid me tell *Dangerfield* that he must get acquainted with *Stroud*; I told him so, and he reply'd, that was done already, for he had been acquainted with *Stroud* a long time, and they us'd to go a robbing together. And he told me that he fear'd neither Fire, Sword, nor Hell, and he car'd not what he said, nor swore, for he had studied to be a Rogue ever since he was Ten Tears old.

L.C.J. You will make a special Witness of him by and by.

Then the Attorney General would not let her speak any more, but call'd *Susan Edwards*.

Att. Gen. What do you know against the Prisoner at the Bar?

Edwards. I carried two Notes from her to Mr. *Dangerfield* in *New-gate*, and two Books of Accompts, and a Guiney, and 20 s. in Silver, and she bid me tell him, now was the time that her Life lay in his hands.

Serj. Maynard. Did not you carry her a Letter from him?

Susan. Yes.

Att. Gen. What was in it?

Susan. I know not, for I cannot read written-hand; but he told me he must turn Rogue and ruine all the Sect.

Judge. What Sect?

Susan. I know not what Sect, but he said, if he did not turn Rogue, he should be Hang'd.

Ser. Main. But she bid you tell him her Life lay in his hands.

Cel. And yours too Sir, if he turn Rogue, and be believ'd as others have been of late. But she's no Witness, for she robb'd me, and the very Heathens would not allow false Servants to swear against their Masters.

Cel. By the Oath you have taken, Where had you the Cloaths you wear?

Susan. Of my Father, they are none of yours, I never see you have but two Suits at a time.

Cel. Did you ever see any thing Dishonourable by me?

Susan. Yes, He went into your Chamber one Sunday Morning.

L.C.J. Was her Husband there? *Sus.* No, He was gone to Church.

L.C.J. He were best take care how he goes to Church.

Cel. My Lord, I appeal to your Conscience, as you sit there, whether you think any thing but Innocence durst ask that Question; And to prove it is so, there is a Woman who served me 26 Tears, be pleas'd to examine her.

A Lawyer within the Bar, said, To me it is a plain proof of her Innocence as to that point. *Serj. Maynard* then made some malicious reflections thereupon.

Cel. Pray Sir, is that Treason by the Statute of the 25. of Edward III. It is not in this Innocent Age.

L

Susan.

Susan. She said she doubted not, but the Plot would turn to a Presbyterian one; and I heard *Dangerfield* say so too; and that he would make it his Interest to find it out; And she said, if he did, she should see him keep his Coach and Six Horses, and then he should marry her Daughter.

L.C.J. What would he have Mother and Daughter too?

Susan then prated very impertinently.

Judge. Will that Impudent Wench never have done prating? Turn her out. Then she went and stood among the Clerks, Prating, and behaving herself impudently, till they scoft at her, and thrust her out of Court.

Then the Lord Chief Justice made an excellent Speech, of what sad Consequence it would be to admit such profligated Wretches to give Evidence; and that the three Kingdoms might have cause to rue such a days work, and that it would be an in-let to the greatest Villanies, to destroy our Lives, Liberties and Estates, with much more to the like purpose.

Judge. This Fellow will come no more.

L.C.J. Call him, shall we stay all day?

Cryer. *Dangerfield, Dangerfield, Dangerfield, &c.*

After he had been called five or six times, the Lord Chief Justice commanded a Tip-staff to go into the Hall and look for him: Which he did; and after a long time *Dangerfield* came with a **Black-Bor**, at which the Court laughed, saying here comes the **Black-Bor**, here comes the **Black-Bor**.

L.C.J. You have been long in going to the Temple.

Dang. I went to the Exchange; Here is my Pardon.

It was observ'd that his Hands did so shake and tremble, that he could not open the **BOX**.

Cel. My Lord, he is not Pardon'd **Fellony, Burglary, Perjury**, nor **Forgery**: And I will prove him notoriously Guilty of all these.

The Clerk read his Pardon, and all these Crimes were omitted.

Cel. My Lord, he is Convict of **Fellony**, and Out-law'd thereupon; Mr. Lane bring the Chelmsford Record: he produc'd and prov'd it.

The Clerk read it, which said he was Convict of **Fellony and Burglary**, for breaking the House of Robert Tetterson, Shoe-maker of Windsmore-Hill, and taking thence a linnen bag worth a Penny, and Four Pounds Ten Shillings in Mony; he broke Prison, and was Out-law'd thereupon.

Kings Counsel. How do you know this is the Man?

Cel. He is the Man, and I will prove it by the party that was Rob'd, and the Constable out of whose hands he broke.

Call Robert Tetterson, and James Eaton.

The Cryer called, but they came not.

Cel. My Lord, I fear he has Murther'd them, for Tetterson was here yesterday, and told me, that *Dangerfield* threatned to kill him, if he appeared any more, and said, That he went in danger of his Life.

L.C.J. Call them again, look about the Hall for them, which they did.

Clements. My Lord, I see Tetterson in Court this day.

Then the Cryer called them again, and a person was sent to the Houses adjacent, to call them, but in vain.

Then the Kings Council would not admit him to be the Man mentioned in the Indictment, because it was there *Tho. Dangerfield*, Labourer, and the Pardon was *Tho. Dangerfield* Gentlemen.

Cel. My Lord, if he be the person Pardoned, he is the person Out-law'd, for both are *Thomas Dangerfield* of Waltham Abby.

Judge. Is there any more *Thomas Dangerfields* there?

Dang.

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Dangerf. Yes, my Father and a Cousin of mine, which uses to come there sometimes.

Kings Council. Said I must prove him the man.

Lawyer within the Bar. Brother trouble not the Court, for he is the Man.

L. C. J. Come, I will not admit it could be your Father. *Mrs. Celliers,* have you a Record of Perjury.

Cel. My Lord, I have of Forgery.

Judge. Have you one of his being Pillory'd?

Cel. I have four, bring the Salisbury Records.

They were produced and proved, and one of them read, which said that in the Thirtieth year of the King, he was Indicted at *Sarum*, for putting off a Gilt Shilling for a Guinney, to which Indictment he Pleaded Guilty, and was Condemned to stand in the Pillory three hours next Market day, with a Paper on his forehead, signifying his Crime, and after that to pay five Pounds to the King, and that he stood in the Pillory according to Sentence.

Cel. My Lord, I have 3 Records more to the same effect, to all which he Pleaded Guilty.

Judge. No, it is enough.

After all this *Serj. Maynard* and the Att. General would had him allowed a good witness, saying all these Crimes are Pardoned under the Title of Offences and Transgressions.

Cel. A Pardon cannot make him an honest Man, as all ought to be that are Witnesses in Treason, Nor can the King give him an Act of Grace to my prejudice, as this Pardon will be, if it make him a good Witness to take away my Life. *Mr. Langhorn* desired that *Mr. Reading* might be examined, and the Lord Chief Justice North denyed it, saying he had been in the Pillory, and had his Testimony been allowed, I doubt not but *Mr. Langhorn* had been alive. And shall this prodigious Wretch that has been burn'd in the Hand, Whipt, Pillory'd, Convict of all manner of Crimes, and stands out-law'd for Felony, be allow'd a good Witness to take away my Life, and such a Gentleman as *Mr. Reading* be denyed to give Evidence to save, because he had been on the Pillory for endeavoring to do that which if he had done, it had not amounted to one of those many Crimes this Villain Pleaded Guilty to. And I beseech the Court to consider, That if such Witnesses be allowed, Liberty and Property are destroyed.

Attor. General. *Mr. Reading* was not Pardoned.

Cel. He is not Pardoned neither, for he is Out-law'd for Felony, which is not incerted in his Pardon, and is otherwise notoriously infamous.

K. Council. None but Villains are fit to be employed in such Designs.

L. C. J. They are fit to be employed, but not fit to be believed, and we ought not to hood-wink Justice for such a Stigmatiz'd, Whipt, Pillory'd, Burnt in the hand Fellow as he notoriously appears to be.

Then *Dangerfield* submissively bowing; said My Lord, this is enough to discourage any one hereafter, from entering into good and honest Principles.

L. C. J. It will discourage Rogues from daring to appear before a Court of Justice.

Then his Lordship told him his own in very apt words, with a recapitulation of his Crimes; saying, he did not, nor would not, fear nor spare such as he was.

Then Judge *Dolben* stood up, and said, That no man that had any spark of Grace or Civility, would dare to appear before a Court of Justice, being guilty of such Crimes, and that no man of common sense, would take away the life of a Worm upon such Evidence.

Then the Lord Chief Justice gave short directions to the Jury, telling them he knew nothing they had to do, for that nothing material appeared against me.

And they unanimously cryed out, *Not Guilty.*

Clerk Crown. Kneel down.

Cel. Kneeling, said God preserve the King and his Royal Highness, and bless this Honourable Court.

L. C. J. *Dang.* have you any security for your Good behaviour to answer the Felony.

But *Dangerfield* having none, the Lord Chief Justice said, Take him away, take him away, and secure him. Then was *Dangerfield* presently disarmed, who trembling, and looking as if he had been just going to be Hang'd, Cryed out, Whither must I go? whither will you carry me? Then he shed Tears in the Court, and was by the Officers presently conveyed to the *Kings-Bench* Prison with a numerous Train of Attendance, where the Gentlemen Prisoners received him according to his Merit. But he not liking his entertainment, desired to be locked up till the Marshal came home: and then for his better security was sent to the Common-Side, where the Prisoners had like to have Pump'd him.

But

But his Phanatick friends bringing him good store of Mony, both Gold and Silver, he spent it very freely among them, so by that means escap'd that Storm, and there remained in the custody of the Marshal, till he was brought to the Bar by order of Court, and pleaded a general *New-gate* Pardon, in which his name was inserted, and so was discharged, with good advice to leave off his former wicked courses, and take up some imployment to live honestly, for his thread of Life was so fine spun, that he could expect no more favour from any Court.

The tryal being over, the Gentlemen of the Jury sent for me up into the Room where they Din'd, and told me, there was a Guiny a Man due to them, I Answer'd, *I had cost my Husband a great deal of Mony alerady, much more than my Person was worth, and was not willing to put him to any Charge I could avoid; And I hop'd they would consider my condition, and not expect Mony from me.* They reply'd if I had been cast, the King must have paid them a Guiny a Man, upon which I promis'd if it were a due Debt I would send it to Sir Philip Matthews on Munday, but finding it was nor, I sent him this following Letter.

Honoured Sir.

I Have considered upon your demand of a Guiny a peice to each Gentleman of the Jury, and find that it is in no sort due. How great soever the ruin is I lie under by the villany of my accuser, I would have made hard shift but I would have paid what was justly due. But upon your second thoughts, I am assur'd you will not forfeit your Spurs by oppressing the Distressed she, Tour selves and the Laws have preserv'd from a raging Dragon. Pray Sir accept of, and give my most humble Service to your self, and all the Worthy Gentlemen of your Pannel, and Tours and their severall Ladies. And if you and They please, I will with no less fidelity serve them in their Deliveries, then You have done me with Justice in mine, and thereby preserv'd Liberty and Property, as much as, Honoured. Sir.

Your most Humble Servant, Elizabeth Cellier.

Monday the 14th of June the Jury sent one Mr. Squire, a very civil and understanding Gentleman, to demand the Guinies of me, we argued the Case a while, and he went away very well satisfied.

On Tuesday morning another came, that was as rough and inconsiderable; and among other things he told me, that the D. of B. gave them two Guinies a Man. I replied, if I had been a Dutcheff, I would have given them five; But I was a poor Woman, and had been much wrong'd, and to prevent further inconvenience, I would not injure my Innocence, not their Justice, so much as to give them any thing but my humble Thanks, which I pray'd him to accept of, and give to them all. He went away in a great heat, expressing his resentment in such Language as I will not spoil Paper with.

This is all I can call to mind, of what past at my severall Examinations, and Tryal, and I hope the judicious Reader will pardon what is either forgot, or not well express'd, in consideration that I was forc'd to defend my Life, both against the Knights and the Dragon, for in this unequal Combate there was no St. George to defend me against him, but Sir C---Sir J---Sir R---and Sir George also stood by my accuser, to manage his Malice against me.

Yet I could not but pity those learned Gentlemen, (one of which would have been infinitely too hard for all these together,) which have been accused in this accur'd Plot, that so many of them should come arm'd and arrayed against me, and be forc'd to blush at the weakness of their Combatant.

But God, the Protector of Innocence, hath for this time delivered me from the rage of that wicked Enemy, and his Fellow-plotters.

But how long either my self, or any other Loyal Subjects, shall be secure from the like Conspiracy, God only knows.

He sent from above, he drew me out of many Waters.

He delivered me from my strong Enemy, and from them which hated me. for they were too strong for me.

They prevented me in the day of my Calamity, but the Lord is my stay, Ps 18. 16, 17, 18.

Finished, Fryday, July the 2d. By Elizabeth Cellier.

A Postscript to the Impartial Readers.

ON Monday the 16th. of this Instant, the Sheet *F* was taken in the Press, and my Self and the *Printer* brought by Messengers before Mr. Secretary *Fenkins*, and he caus'd us to give Bonds and Security to appear before the Lords of the Council, and in the mean time not to print any further.

On Wednesday the 18th. I appear'd before their Lordships, and testified the truth of what I had written, saying, *I publish'd it because I would come again before their Lordships*; and did then accuse Sir *William Waller*, *Mansel*, *Dangerfield*, and their Confederates, of *High Treason*, for endeavouring to raise a Rebellion, and for conspiring against the life of his Royal Highness. And proffered to make good my Charge, by the Testimony of persons of *Honours*, *Persons of middle Quality*, and *unspotted Reputation*, and by some of their own Companions. And their Lordships were pleased to promise that we should be heard.

Thursday the 19th. According to their Lordships order, I came to Mr. *Guin*, the Clerk then in waiting, to give security for my good Behaviour, and to appear at the *Kings Bench-Bar* the first day of the next Term, and though several good House-keepers proffer'd themselves, he would accept of none but such as himself knew; which, though it was very difficult for me to obtain, I was forc'd to do it. After Security given, he would not let me depart, till I had paid 3 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.* And though I told him that two *Justices* of the Peace expected me at that hour, to go with them to take the Examination of a Person that then lay Sick, and desired him to let me go, and I would send the Money to him, as soon as I came home. Yet he commanded *Otterbury* the Messenger to take me into custody till I paid it; and I was forced to stay till I sent home for Money, and by these delays lost the Opportunity of meeting the Gentlemen, and could not examine the party that day; and the next he was taken Speechless, as he still continues. By this means I lost a most material Witness; Yet doubt not but to make good my Charge, if the rest may be heard.

I hope the Readers have not forgotten, that after it had been proved before the Lords of the Council, that *Dangerfield* stood in the Pillory at Salisbury, Yet, upon his single Evidence, the Countess of *Powis*, the Earl of *Castlemain*, and other persons of considerable Quality, were Committed, and I was close Con-

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fin'd two and twenty weeks, and after that, Tryed for my Life;
June the 11th.

But though Treasonable Practices have been sworn against *Dangerfield*, by Justice *Foster*, Justice *Harvey*, Mr. *Thomas Hill*, and my self; Yet the Gentleman walks abroad undisturbed, and daily consults with his Confederates, how to act new Villanies.

These things make me very sensible of the great Difficulties and Discouragements I am like to meet with; But I hope the God of Truth and Justice will protect me, and bring me through them all, and pluck off the vails, and discover both Truth and Frauds bare-faced.

And whensoever his Majesty pleases, to make it as *Safe and Honourable to speak Truth*, as it is apparent it hath been Gainful and Meritorious to do the contrary, there will not want Witnesses to testify the truth of more than I have written, and Persons that are above being made *The Hangman's Hounds for weekly Pentions*, or any other Considerations whatsoever.

And though I have been *two and twenty Weeks confined*, and two and thirty Weeks a Prisoner, and my Charge and Losses much exceed a Thousand Pounds, I do not yet so much fear the smell of *Newgate*, as to be frighted for telling the Truth; nor is Death so great a Terror to me, but that I am still ready to seal the same with my Blood.

August the 21st. 1680.

Elizabeth Cellier.

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THE

MATCHLESS PICARO;

OR,

*A short Essay of the Fortune and Virtues of Seignior
Don Tomaso Ganderfieldo, alias Francisco
De COROMBONA.*

Bray a Fool in a Mortar, yet he will not depart from his Folly. Prov.

BEing importun'd by some friends to write a *Narrative of the Famous Achievements of the Virtuoso* who accus'd Me, I have endeavour'd their satisfaction; But upon a diligent Search, I find the Records of his Worth so many, and so chargable to take off, that neither my Pen nor my Purse are able to perform their Request. But because their Expectation should not wholly be frustrated, I have review'd his half-witted *Narrative*, between

which, and that of the worthy Gentleman Mr. Roderick Mansel,* I find so great an agreement, as satisfies me they had accorded their Stories before the Papers were lodg'd in *Ax-yard Westminster*: And also, that both *Narratives* were dictated by the same Spirit, (one being a true Transcript of the other;) but chiefly, that *Don Roderigo*, and *Seignior Thomazo*, are both right Romantick Heroes, and have added much to the small adventures of others, and related many imaginary ones of me, which never entred into my thoughts, I having from my Childhood abominated such Practices.

But they have been very silent in their own most *Stupendious Acts and Endeavours*. But all their *Squires* being absent, it would much have derogated from their Worth to have blown the Trumpets of their own fame; And because I am inform'd that a Person of great Understanding in the *Worthy Colonels Affairs*, is writing a large *Narrative of his Projects in IRELAND, and HERE* also; Therefore I will say no more, but leave him to that Fate which usually attends Men of his Spirit and Loyalty, both in this World, and in the next; And give you an Abstract of *Seignior Don Thomazo Ganderfieldo, Francisco de Corombona, &c.* his *Recorded Virtues*, and what himself hath told to many Persons that are ready to attest it upon Oath, together with the great Character I have receiv'd of him from the Inhabitants of *Waltham Abby*, the place of his Nativity, where they affirm, that before he was Seven years of age, his Fingers were such Lime-twigs, that he could not enter into any House but something would stick to them; and being corrected by his Father, (for the many Thefts he committed,) he ran away; and wandering up to *London*, was receiv'd into *St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, where at 10 years old his Father found him: But (as he hath done since,) he stoutly disown'd his Father, and would not go with him; However, his Father took him home, and (if himself may be credited,) from that time he *studied to be a Rogue*, and before eleven years of age he agreed with one *Jemmy a Scotch-Man*, and robb'd his Father, and run away into *Scotland*, where, (as young as he was) he committed some Crime which he said would have cost him his Life, had not the Laird of ——— (before whom *Jemmy's* Father and his Prosecutor brought him) taken pity on his Youth, and dismiss him, with a small sum of Money to bring him to *Edenborough*; where the young *Don* being arriv'd, and finding *Scotland* no place for his purpose, he projected how to change

* But what! do I seem to grant Mr Mansel to write a Book? he can more easily convert Guinies into Spanish Cobs, and it will be a less Miracle. I know not how good a Swords-Man he is, but yet have heard of his Active & Passive Valour both in Ireland, and elsewhere, before I saw the Title of Colonel added to his Name in a Narrative; But I must confess, I never did, or ever shall take him for a man of the Pen, no, not so much as upon suspicion; Let him therefore thank Mr. A. for the mischief of that Imposition.

M

Countries:

Countrys : And some Gentlemen being then at *Edenburgh* ready to Imbarque for *Spain*, they entertain'd him for a Lacquey, and transported him into a warmer Climate,

* Margaret Jenkins, and others, to whom he told it, with more of his Virtues, and strange attempts then can be contained in one sheet of Paper; with Proofs that he also is a Slave to Truth, Faithfulness and Impartiality, as the worthy Colonel professes to be in the Eloquent Harangue before his Famous Narrative.

but soon turn'd him out for his * old Tricks; then (as he says) he turn'd Mendicant from Dore to Dore for about a Month; after which he became a Soldiers Boy, and not being able to live on Three Halfpence a Day, he then resolv'd to fall to the practice of the Roguery he had so long studied, and attain'd to a great perfection in the Thieving Trade; And amongst other Virtues, he also learn'd to Guild Copper Cobs, and made them pass for Gold, and plaid such Pranks, that (being too young to be put to Death) he was mark'd by the Executioner of *Port Ferra* with an

N and a G in large Gun-powder Letters on the Back of his Right Hand, and then last out of the Town. And being almost starv'd, a Master of an *English Vessel* in Charity brought him back for *England*, being now about 14 or 15 years of age. Then the wandering Don return'd to the Father he formerly deny'd to own; But he refus'd to receive him, yet had Compassion on his miserable condition, and put him as an Apprentice to a Barber, from whom he ran, and fell so close to the Thieving Trade, that by his own Confession, and the Testimony of others, he was condemn'd to be hang'd before he was 17, but obtain'd a Pardon of Transportation, and went into *Flanders*; But though he chang'd Countries, Qualities he chang'd nor, for in a few years he became so great a proficient, that he counterfeited the Prince of *Orange's* Hand and Seal, and was committed to the Castle of *Antwerp*, where he lay long, and had been starv'd, (as himself says,) but for the Charity of the *English Nuns*, who every day sent him Meat and Drink. About 12 Weeks after his Commitment, he was try'd and condemn'd to be Hang'd; But Father *Worsly*, an *English Priest*, (after the charitable example of the *English Nuns* at *Antwerp*, who not only fed this starv'd Snake, but also sav'd and supported Captain *Spurn-Cow* in the like Danger) by earnest solicitations procured his Pardon, and brought it at the critical Minute, when one end of the Halter was about his Neck, and the other tied to the Gallows, and the Ladder ready to be taken away. This charitable Person also collected 30 odd Pounds, and gave it him, to bring him over into *England*, and to put him into an honest way to live, and so dismiss him, with much good Counsel, which he never had Grace to follow.

Some Months after, he was 18 years old, he arriv'd in *England*, and fell close to his old Trade, and had such success therein, that in the 19th. year of his age, and,

London II. In the 25th. Year of His now Majesties Reign, he was indicted at the Old Baily, for stealing a Tortoise-shell Cabinet, and ten pieces of old Gold out of the House of *Robert Blagrave*, the Vintner that now keeps the *Crown-Tavern* behind the Old Exchange. The Jury found the Bill, and he was afterwards try'd thereupon, and found Guilty, and being brought to receive Sentence, and ask't what he had to say for himself that Judgment should not pass upon him according to Law? he said, he was a Clark, and prayed the benefit of the Book; which was granted, and he read, and was burn'd in the left Hand.

Essex II. At *Chelmsford*, in the said County, the first day of *March*, in the 27th. Year of His now Majestie's Reign, at the Assizes held there before Sir *Thomas Twisden* Kt. & Baronet, *John Howel* Serjeant at Law, and their Associates, &c.

The Grand Jury being sworn, did find the Bill, wherein *Thomas Dangerfield*, late of *Waltham Abby*, Labourer, the 29th. of *January*, in the 26th. Year of His now Mrjestie's Reign, was indicted for Feloniously stealing and taking away the goods of one *Robert Tetterson* Shoe-maker, of *Windsmore-Hill*, a Linnen-bag worth a penny, and 4l. 10s. in mony. And the said *Dangerfield* before he came to his Tryal, broke the Prison, and so got away, and thereupon was out-law'd for the Felony, as by the Record appears.

Wils. II. At the Assizes held for the County of *Wils.* the 4th. of *August* in the 29 year of his now Majesty, before Sir *Thomas Jones*, Knight; *Thomas Burton*, Serjeant at Law, and other Associates, &c.

The Jury being sworn, and upon their Oaths did find the Bill, wherein *Thomas Willoughby* alias *Feild*, late of *Wilton*, Labourer; did stand Indicted for uttering false Guineys to one *John Penny*.

To which Indictment he Pleaded Guilty, and was adjudged to stand in the Pillow

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next Market day in the open Market-place for three hours, from 9 till 12 with a Paper on his forehead, signifying his Crime, and afterwards to pay 5 l. to the King, and to lie in Prison till he paid it.

Wils. II. At the same Assizes he was indicted of the like Fact, for uttering a false Guiny at *Broad-Chalk*, he pleaded Guilty, and was fined five Pounds, and to stand on the Pillory three hours at *New-Sarum* another Market day, with a Paper on his Forehead, as before.

Wils. II. At the same Assizes he was indicted for the like Fact, he Pleaded Guilty, and was fined five Pounds, and to stand on the Pillory at *Wilton* three hours, with an Inscription on his Forehead.

He stood on the Pillory twice at *Sarum*, and broke the Goal before he was to stand the third time.

Middlesex. II. In the 30th. year of his now Majesties Reign, he was indicted at *Hicks's Hall*, before Sir *Reginald Foster*, Sir *Philip Matthews*, *Thomas Harriot* Esq; and Associates, by the name of *Thomas Dangerfield*, alias *Willoughby*, alias *Moor*, Labourer, for uttering 20 false Guinies in the Parish of *St. Leonard Shoreditch*. The Bill was found against him.

That Sessions he was tryed and convict at the *Old-Baily*, and was fin'd fifty Pounds, and to lie in Prison till he paid it.

Whilst he lay in Prison for his Fine, he there *Practiced Forgery*, as Captain *Richardson* testified upon Oath, *October* the 1679. before the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Counsell; as also, that he never had in his Custody a more *Notorious Rogue*.

About *November* or *December* following, he broke a hole through the Prison with the help of his fellows, pretending he would teach them how to make an escape; but by a Letter to Captain *Richardson*, gave him notice of their Intentions, and they were surpriz'd going forth, and rewarded according to their merit; But the *Don* escap'd Scot-free, and in reward of this Service, Captain *Richardson*, in the *January* following, got him into a general *New-gate* Pardon, for which he hath since rewarded him with the same gratitude wherewith he has ever repay'd his Benefactors; proving the old Proverb true, *Save a Thief from the Gallows, and he will hang thee if he can*.

There he lay till the *May* following, for want of Mony to pay his Fees, at which time I paid them, and what else I did for him, and upon what inducements you may read Page the 12. and 13. How he has requir'd me I need not relate, *His Gratitude is Publickly Notorious* like his other virtues; in pursuit of which, I searched till I found his Name Recorded in 28 places, having been Transported, Burnt in the Hand, five times Adjudged to the Pillory, seven times Fin'd, twice Out-law'd for Felony, and broke the Goal in several places eight times; but the great Charge forced me to desist, though I have been credibly inform'd that his Acts were Recorded in many places more, both in *England, Wales, Cornwall, and Ireland*, but to give him his due, not one of these Records that I know of, is for Robbing on the High-way. He is too tender of his own safety, and has too great a Veneration for the memory of his Murther'd Mother, to expose her Son to any such audacious enterprise; all his Atchievements are House-breaking, Picking of Pockets, Cheats, Forgeries, and Petty Larcenies, &c.

But to return to the Gentlemans Narrative, wherein he says Page 24. on the top of the leaf, that his pretended Confessor Mr. *Sharp*, injoyn'd him for his Penance, that twice a night, for five nights following, he should walk bare-footed from *Powis House* in *Lincolns-Inn Fields*, to *Lincolns-Inn back gate*, and back again, which he saith he did accordingly, and that every morning for five mornings he should Discipline his naked shoulders with some *Franciscan* Cords which he gave him, and bid him be sure to follow his Advice, if he would escape Damnation.

Surely the Gentlemans Wits were gone a Wool-gathering, else he would have told his Confessor, that if lashing could secure him from Damnation, he had enough of that both in *England, Cornwall, Spain and Flanders*, having perform'd many memorable Penances of that kind; and particularly that of *Reading*, where he marched bare-footed, and bare-headed before the Beadle to the Towns-end, attended by all the Youth of the Place, being scourged all the way, and at the end of the Town, had 20 lashes given him extraordinary, because he had not money to pay the Goaler.

And having thus exercised his *Passive Valour* to the satisfaction of all the Spectators, he

he was with great shoutings and acclamations, turn'd off to seek his Fortune; in pursuit of which he went to the next Town, where a Company of Soldiers was then quartered, and with great Lamentation told them he had been set upon by Foot Pads, and by them robbed of a considerable sum of money, and most cruelly beaten. These honest Souldiers received him with much humanity, fed and cloathed him as well as they could, promising him to prevail with their Captain to receive him into the Company: But the next day the fraud was discovered, for some Persons coming from *Reading*, made known his good qualities, with the exemplary Reward he had so lately received: The Souldiers were so offended at their misplaced Charity, that they beat and kickt him up and down like a foot-Ball, resolving to lash him severely with their Matches; and in order to it, pluckt off his venerable Coat, and the bloody Rag he called his Shirt, but when they saw his back so pittifully mortify'd, they (to use his own words) scorned to fling water upon a drow ned Mouse, but let him go whither he would, and he directed his course towards *London*, where he arrived in great state, riding upon his Fathers two legg'd Colt, having been entertained on the way by the Charity of well-disposed Persons, &c.

Certainly, had he told Mr. *Sharp* his Story, he could not have been so severe to him; especially, if he had produced that undenyable proof he always carries about him, as plainly appeared to some Gentlemen that went into the Water with him last Summer, and are ready to depose that the *Marks of the Lashes* which have been so freely laid on are still visible on his back in long *blue Stigma's*; Yea, as visible as the Letters on his right hand, and much more then that in the drawn of his left Thumb. *This Heroe* is too well markt to be forgotten, though his modesty has made him so silent in his own praise, that he has omitted most of his strange and unparallel'd Adventures in *England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Spain, Flanders, and Holland*, and elsewhere on the Coast of *Guiny and Barbadoes, &c.* Together with the Just and Generous Entertainments he found in the Incharnted Castles of *Chelmisford, Newgate, Antwerp, York, Callice, Salisbury, Wimbourn, West-chester, Reading, Abbingdon, the Gate-house, Dublin, the Counter, the Kings-bench*, with many more, too long to be related, and too Chargeable for me to take off the Records.

But as the skilful Statuary could guess at *Hercules's* height by the length of his foot, so I doubt not but the judicious Reader by the sight of the Records I have produc'd, will easily be perswaded to believe the rest, and think his life so remarkable, that it exceeds all the Worthies of his quality that have gone before him, and is unmatchable. Even in this Age, That produces such Monstrous Gigantick Masters of the Diabolical Arts, as him-

* To understand the just value of Merry Tom, let them talk with his Father Brother or Sister, and they will tell you much of his Integrity; for he has other rare qualities besides Blubbering, and it is not for nothing that he is called the Parliament-teazer, and the Council Eyes-dropper.

self, Captain *Spurr-Com* the Horse-stealer; *Parson lack Latine*; *Don Cappadocia*, Squire of the Plow tail; *Horse Proud*, The Narrative Collonel, *Merry Tom* of *St. Anns Lane, Westminster**; And the rest, whose Histories when they appear to future Ages, will much out-do the Spanish *Guzman*, the English *Rogue*, and the Italian *Bandetto* mongone, that is made famous to Posterity, by being adjudged to end his days in an Iron Cage on the top of a Tower, where he lived Twenty odd years, a great example of Gods Justice, and at the end thereof, beat out his Brains against the Bars of the Cage, as *Bajazet* had done before him, this being within Mans memory, and some persons as I am credibly informed, yet living in *London* that have seen him; And if these Worthies of our Age have Justice done them according to their Merit, the same perhaps may live to see them as well provided for at the Publick Charge.

Psal. 121. 1, 3. The Fool hath said in his Heart there is no God, they are corrupt, they have done abominable Works, there is none that doth good. They are all gone aside, they are altogether filthy, there is none that doth good, no not one.

Psal. 50. 22. Now consider this ye that forget God, lest he tear you in pieces, and there be none to deliver.

I understand that the Gentleman is going to Publish his life at large, by the name of *Don Francisco de Coromona*, in attestation of the Truth of which, this short Epistle of his Fortunes and Vertues is Published by

Elizabeth Cellier.

